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[For information on the origins and traditional history of clans and phratries, see Categories 614 and 615.]

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[For additional information on Badaga history, see Category 174.]

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[For information on the origins and traditional history of clans and phratries, see Categories 614 and 615.]

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539 ruler attempted to ravish the girl, whom the brother saved from him by flight. They settled down near the present village of Bethalhada. After a short stay there, the brothers separated, and settled in different parts of the Nīlgiris, which they peopled. Concerning the second brother, Hethappa, who had two daughters, the story goes that, during his absence on one occasion, two Todas forced their way into his house, ravished his wife, and possessed themselves of his wordly effects. Hearing of what had occurred, Hethappa sought the assistance of two Balayaru in revenging himself on the Todas. They readily consented to help him, in return for a promise that they should marry his daughters. The Todas were killed, and the present inhabitants of the village Hulikallu are supposed to be the descendants of the Balayaru and Badaga girls. The seven brothers are now worshipped under the name Hethappa or Hetha.

174 In connection with the migration of the Badagas to the Nīlgiris, the following note is given in the Gazetteer
• (105) of the Nīlgiris. "When this flitting took place there is little to show. It must have occurred after the foundation of the Lingāyat creed in the latter half of the twelfth century, as many of the Badagas are Lingāyats by faith, and sometime before the end of the sixteenth century, since in 1602 the Catholic priests from the west coast found them settled on the south of the plateau, and observing much the same relations with the Todas as subsist to this day. The present state of our knowledge does not enable us to fix more nearly the date of the
(197) migration. That the language of the Badagas, which is a form of Canarese, should by now have so widely altered from its original as to be classed as a separate dialect argues that the movement took place nearer the twelfth than the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the

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kallu. There is, further, a platform, made of bricks and mud, called mandhe kallu, whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village. Strangers, who are not Badagas, are called Holeya. The Rev. G. Richter gives* Badaga Holeya as a division of the lowly Holeyas, who came to Coorg from the Mysore country. In front of the houses, the operations of drying and threshing grain are carried out. The cattle are kept in stone kraals, or covered sheds close to the habitations, and the litter is kept till it is knee or waist deep, and then carried away as manure for the Badaga's land, or planters' estates.

"Nobody," it has been said,† "can beat the Badaga at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be a Chinese gardener. To-day we see a portion of the hill side covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it, in a few weeks, to neat order. The unwieldy boulders, having been rolled aside, serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out cattle, etc. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface. The Badagas are the most progressive of all the hill tribes, and always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society."

Writing in 1832, Harkness states‡ that "on leaving his house in the morning the Burgher pays his adoration

* Manual of Coorg. † Pioneer, 4th October 1907.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills.

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782 to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in which the cattle have been confined, and, again addressing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing,
(233) and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

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242 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well. On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

562 "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from
(462) what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his
(465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male
(464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on
(262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

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The Badagas live in dread of the Kurumbas, and the Kurumba constantly comes under reference in their folk-stories. The Kurumba is the necromancer of the hills, and believed to be possessed of the power of outraging women, removing their livers, and so causing their death, while the wound heals by magic, so that no trace of the operation is left. He is supposed, too, to have the power of opening the bolts of doors by magic, and effecting an entrance into a house at night for some nefarious purpose. The Toda or Badaga requires the services of the Kurumba, when he fancies that any member of his family is possessed of the devil, or when he wants to remove the evil eye, to which he imagines that his children have been subjected. The Kurumba does his best to remove the malady by repeating various mantrams (magical formulæ). If he fails, and if any suspicion is aroused in the mind of the Toda or Badaga that he is allowing the devil to play his pranks instead of loosing his hold on the supposed victim, woe betide him. The wrath of the entire village, or even the whole tribe, is raised against the unhappy Kurumba. His hut is surrounded at night, and the entire household massacred in cold blood, and their huts set on fire. This is very cleverly carried out, and the isolated position of the Kurumba settlements allows of very little clue for identification. In 1835 no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were thus murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891 the live inmates of a single hut were murdered, and their hut burnt to ashes, because, it was said, one of them who had been treating a sick Badaga child failed to cure it. The crime was traced to some Kotas in conjunction with Badagas, but the District Judge disbelieved the evidence, and all who were charged were acquitted. Every Badaga family pays an annual

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over who is a Badaga and who is not.

The coherence of Badaga society was already a *fait accompli* by 1800, and we know of scarcely any villages founded much after that date. In effect their colonization of the Nilgiris and the consolidation of various refugee groups into a unity were events of what we must academically call prehistory. From the Badagas' point of view, however, the advent of a few foreign literati did not nudge their community from the darkness of prehistory into the gloomy light of historicity. Until today nobody, Badaga or otherwise, has published a history of the community: are they therefore still prehistoric?

Be that as it may, their past is of extreme importance to them, and is still vividly recalled in an oral history of legends that are taken for fact and in most cases probably *are* based on actual events. Badaga legends are highly consistent from one part of the district to another and are sufficiently precise about the more insignificant details to convince me that, like the Maori genealogists of old, Badagas have long maintained a fairly accurate interest in their past and in teaching the young about it. Some of these unwritten legends take the form of epic ballads that are sung throughout the night while waiting for someone to die and in other situations where time has to be killed. This should not deceive us into considering the legends mere entertainment: it is true that they are delightfully entertaining to Badagas, but legends are also crucial to their convictions about how the social system should operate. It is these highly credible tales about who settled which village that explain to all the 120,000 Badagas the regulations governing village exogamy and other aspects of the relation between a kinship system, a pattern of settlement and a social hierarchy.

Instead of relegating Badaga legend to the 'folklore' pigeon-hole in the hope that a content analysis will later be made of it, I propose to examine briefly what the legends do and do not cover in Badaga prehistory. Most of them are tales of supposed events, often mysterious, often tragic, events in the lives of personages who lived on the Nilgiri Hills. Stories of love and magic belong to this group. A second group are the political tales, legends of chieftains and East India Company officials who came to the hills for conquest, plunder or sport. A third group are the local legends of Badaga colonization. These three groups deal with varying aspects of Badaga origins. The tales of personal exploits, often amorous in

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nature, are cited to explain the beginning of particular lineages or villages. The political tales explain the origin of villages and the emergence of various village officials. The accounts of who settled which place now explain the pattern of exogamy within the community. A fourth group of legends embrace all sorts of events and arrangements resulting from Badagas' contact with the Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes indigenous to the area. These legends validate the whole system of economic interdependence which has held these groups rigidly together for so long and has led to a minimum division of labour within the Badaga community.

Here are the quasi-historical events Badagas have chosen to remember. Yet the one great event of their past not clearly recalled now is the actual flight from Mysore. They are explicit that their ancestors did not all come to the Nilgiris at the same time, and yet many nowadays claim they had been refugees fleeing from Tippu Sultan. So vague are people about their ancestors' flight that the only legend I have located on the subject is obviously coloured by a nineteenth-century borrowing from the Book of Exodus. It tells how the Badagas, hotly pursued by Moslem soldiers, came to the Moyar River, the northern limit of the district, at which point the waters opened up and enabled them to pass. As one might guess the pursuers were all drowned when the river closed up again behind the Badagas.

While it may be true that the latest arrivals were fleeing from Tippu or the four Mysore Wars, the great bulk of the people were refugees from earlier scourges or were purposely brought to settle the hills. The 370 villages in which they now live were virtually all in existence when the British first settled there a mere twenty years after Tippu's death. By the start of the nineteenth century the Badagas were consolidated as a Nilgiri society and their work of colonization completed.

For the early days of their settlement we fortunately have the independent record of an Italian priest who visited the Nilgiris in 1603 and met both Badagas and Todas there. When we couple this fact with the linguistic evidence that Badagas speak an archaic dialect of Kannada, it becomes most likely that the first major wave of refugees arrived as the Moslem hordes were destroying the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in Karnataka in 1565. There is no doubt that this was the direction from which the Badagas came. Aside from speaking a dialect of Kannada, their very name means 'northerner', and their adherence to the

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Lingayat faith is equally telling, for the sect is almost confined to Karnataka State. 174

Nor are Badaga legends more informative about the period *before* they left Mysore (i.e., Karnataka). The names of a few ancestral villages there are still recalled, but little else. The Ha:ruva clan are reputed (chiefly by themselves) to have been Brahmins; the Wodea phratry bears the same name as a high-ranking Lingayat subcaste in Mysore. But beyond these sparse ideas and the general impression that the refugees had not been urban we can really say nothing about 'Badaga' social organization prior to their migration from the core area. Perhaps that is the way they would have it, for there is nothing very relevant to their present organization in a pattern of hierarchically organized, multicaste villages—which is what recent Mysore society has been and presumably was in medieval times.

Once settled on the Nilgiri Hills the immigrants encountered challenges that were new to them. Life in Mysore during the Vijayanagar Empire and after its collapse had undoubtedly not been calm; indeed many during those troubled years were induced to desert their native villages. Yet the regulation of their lives had until this exodus been certain: the demands of the religious calendar, of caste regulations, of client and patron, and of the ruling families were well known and omnipresent. One could only escape from that society, if need be, by embracing nature in the guise of an ascetic. 175

In the Nilgiris the separation of society and nature was perhaps more severe, a stark contrast which would not brook the ambivalence of ascetics wandering beyond the pale of society into the comforting embrace of nature. Here asceticism was unknown and nature anything but warm: she flaunted a dismal climate in which men could easily die from exposure and cold when cut off from their fellows. The jungles surrounding every hamlet were infested with all the dangerous animals known to Mysore, but here they were more proximate, seemingly more numerous and minatory. The small community of Badagas collaborated comfortably with their neighbours, the Todas and Kotas. But around this plural society they all drew a rigid boundary: everything beyond it was the terrifying realm of the wild. It contained not only the obvious terrors, the tigers, panthers, elephants, hyenas, buffaloes, wolves and bears, but the even more frightening and mysterious Kurumba sorcerers, who could turn into any one of these animals. This sharp

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175 division between nature and society was expressed in a variety of ways. Clearest perhaps was the ethical prescription that while it is evil for a Badaga to kill people he does good in the eyes of the community *and of God* if he kills Kurumbas or tigers, 'since these (181) are both murderers' (as the matter was once explained to me). The Badagas have always been what would popularly be termed a most superstitious people: they suspect the sorcerer's artifice behind every noise in the jungle, every unexplained malady, every strange event; and they glean a multitude of tidings, both good and bad, from the everyday behaviour of snakes, crows, jackals, cattle and dozens of other creatures and conditions that surround (681) them. A further indication of the gulf between nature and society is perhaps that in their pre-British law the severest Badaga punish- (684) ment short of hanging was ostracism—expulsion from the village; and this was reserved for the enormity of incest.[2]

121 For an Indian peasant society the Badagas have some quite extraordinary features, fit to provide enough exotica for any undergraduate anthropology course. This fact has not been duly appreciated by the dozens of ethnologists who have come to the Nilgiris and attached themselves with passion to the colourful Todas or the shy jungle tribes. The Badagas may outwardly appear a much more 'typical' Indian farming community, and yet they do not have true subcastes or multicaste villages; they practise hypergamy *and* hypogamy even across the vegetarian boundary; several forms of polygamy are acceptable; they have a sort of young men's house; marriage is permitted across generation levels to the point where a man may in theory marry a woman *and* her daughter *and* her mother simultaneously, and villages hold a memorial ceremony once in fifty years when every member of a generation has died. Add to these features the frequent ghost exorcisms, fire-walking and occasional massacres, and the anthropologist has much to explain.

THE TERRAIN

101 The Nilgiri Hills, also known as the Blue Mountains, constitute a [133] massif some 1500 sq. km. in area, situated in southern India at the (631) juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnatak Malabar and Tamilnad. In the British period it was an adminis trative unit of the Madras Presidency. Today the Nilgiris form one

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101 small district of Tamil Nadu, altogether covering 2543 sq. km. This
(630) is the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays numerous other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the elevation of 2000–2500 m., and one peak, Doddabetta, among the highest in peninsular India, reaches 2633 m. In contrast to this the western quarter of the district averages around 1000 m. in elevation and forms a major
(361) portion of the Wainad Plateau. The main indigenous communities there are the Panias, Kurumbas, Nayakas and Chettis, but there are also a few Badagas (Wainad Gaudas) and Kotas.

The escarpment of the Nilgiri Plateau falls away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drops some 2000 m. in about
(137) 3 km. These slopes always have been covered in dense subtropical
(136) jungle which harbours tigers, leopards, buffaloes, elephants, snakes and malarial mosquitoes, and formerly dangerous hunting tribes
(175) still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the British early in the nineteenth century the three communities living on the summit of these hills—Badagas, Kotas and Todas—were therefore extremely isolated.

132 The undulating, unevenly wooded downland making up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The
(133) Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. Western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July and August; the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December. The average mean daily temperature in the centre of the plateau is around 15°C, while in the Wainad the climate is much hotter and wetter.

175 For the mildly invigorating qualities of its climate the plateau is
177 therefore scarcely rivalled anywhere in the Asian tropics, and from 1819 British residents began to take advantage of this healthful
(361) region. Soon the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the district headquarters), and the military station at Wellington, took shape and expanded. More recently the town of Gudalur (Gudalu:ru) has grown up in the Wainad, at the foot of the western
(631) escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative divisions or *taluks* into which the district was divided by the British.

THE NILGIRI POPULATION

When the British began to settle on the plateau they brought with

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them a great variety of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other dependents, including a few Eurasians. With this contact people of southern India began to learn about the strange men, scarcely Hindus, who already inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to find labouring jobs on the tea and coffee plantations from the 1840s; and as they took up this new occupation they brought the indigenous Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and practices of South Indian Hinduism. Today the plantations are the main source of the district income, and they attract an ever-increasing number of migrant labourers from elsewhere in South India. In 1971 there were some 370,000 immigrants living in the Nilgiris, three-quarters of the total population (see Appendix I).

These immigrants belong to a wide range of castes. Normally, while maintaining occupational roles in Nilgiri society, they also attempt to continue the behaviour that distinguishes their own castes and try to keep up social ties with their places of origin. From the point of view of the indigenous communities, however, these caste distinctions are of little importance: immigrants are classified under seven rough headings—Tamilians, Kanarese, Andhras, Malayalis, Christians, Moslems and Europeans (lit. 'Kings'). The indigenous people are aware that there are caste divisions within these categories but are unconcerned with them; and as the immigrants are classed according to mother-tongue or religious creed, they are not even organized by the local residents into a simple caste hierarchy. It is true that Andhras, for example, are thought to have an inferior status; but this is because they are nearly always day-labourers for the Nilgiri farmers. Their low status, like that of other labourers, is determined by their poverty and poor education rather than by their caste affiliations. There *is* a status hierarchy in the Nilgiris, but it has economic and educational determinants that should not be confused with the ritual determinants of caste ranking elsewhere in India.

Except among Todas, Kotas and Europeans, the rate of population growth in this district has been remarkably high: for the decade 1961–1971 it was a staggering 38%, attributable to continuing immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths. This greatly surpasses the State average of 22.3% and the all-India figure of 24.8%. This demographic factor, together with a high rate of literacy and the fact that plantations make this one of the wealthier districts in southern India, indicates that the Nilgiris are by no means typical of rural India. Indeed they tend towards

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medieval town of gold or iron miners, whose mines were protected by a now-disappeared mud fortress. Traces of their town stretch for nearly a kilometer.[7] Badaga traditions do not mention this mining activity, and there is no basis for supposing Badagas initially occupied the hills as prospectors or mine-slaves. If such old quarries (which might even be Roman) have any relevance at all to Badaga history, it can only be because the Ummattu:r chieftains may have turned their eyes towards the Nilgiris in search of the gold that it was rumoured could be found there. In recent times there has been no gold mining in the district, except in the Wainad during the feverish speculation of 1879 1882. (Francis, 1908, 16–19; for other references, see Hockings, 1975, 49–50; 1978, 43–47).

While archaeology is of no assistance, kinship provides a rough guide to the antiquity of the Badaga community. The Gauda headman of Tu:ne:ri, paramount chief of the Badagas, can name nineteen generations of forefathers. His was probably the first village founded (Francis, 1908, 364), and as seventeen of the headmen were resident there the antiquity of Tu:ne:ri must go back to the early seventeenth century if we allow twenty years per generation.[8]

Another line of argument is that all Hindu Badagas are Shaivites (including those who are Virashaivas), whereas in southern Mysore there is now a large minority of Vaishnavites. That sect had its inception there with the conversion of the Mysore kings to Vaishnavism around 1610, which suggests that the Badagas were already in the Nilgiris by that date and so not affected in the way that lowland communities were (Grigg, 1880, 218; Macleane, 1893, 64; Wilks, 1930, vol. I, 52). That some if not all were indeed in the hills was confirmed by Finicio (1603).[9]

It has been argued that the respect shown to Badagas by the Todas and Kotas, for example in customary salutations, indicates that they had entered the Nilgiris while the Mysore kings were still in the ascendancy and had some territorial claims over the Nilgiris (Grigg, 1880, 218; see below, 112). The Be:da phratry, who arrived rather more recently as huntsmen and tax collectors in the retinue of the chieftain of Ummattu:r, 'still call the Mysore chiefs . . . their Kartas or lords' (Grigg, 1880, 268–269, quoting Metz, 1864). Such an argument does not accord with the widespread tale of flight from Moslem oppressors, which depicts some Badagas initially coming to the Nilgiri tribes with caps in hand:

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'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us . . . we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours . . . We are helpless. You must help us.' Such is the Kota version. In response a council of Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas allowed the Badagas to settle provided they paid the now-customary tribute to these tribes (Harkness, 1832, 106–107; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 735–754; Rhiem, 1900, 498; Emeneau, 1946, 257; see below, 113–116). Not all Badagas migrated within a generation or two, and while some may have been fleeing from Moslem soldiers other bands came later for other reasons.

Clearly there were several waves of immigrants brought sometimes by famine conditions, sometimes by Moslem attempts at forcible conversion, sometimes perhaps by a Mysorean policy to colonize the hills. The Kotas are explicit that once a few Badagas had arrived more came over the succeeding years (Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 3; Emeneau, 1946, 259). The early explorers Ward (1821) and Harkness (1832) both recorded that the people had settled over many years, and Ward added that some had been 'invited' there by the chieftains of Ummattu:r, under whose suzerainty the Nilgiris had rested for a period. This story suggests that some Badagas, refugees from famine rather than Islam, had settled in the hills as part of a pacification programme aimed at increasing the revenue there.[10] Others, it is popularly believed, fled from Moslem rulers who wanted to marry or seduce good-looking Hindu girls. In search of refuge from this threat they travelled up to 150 km. On reaching the hills the women were given facial tattoos and dressed in white cloths (as they still are) to resemble Kota women, while men adopted the Toda shawl for greater warmth: in effect a conscious and lasting attempt was made to resemble the hill tribes and to adopt a tribal model of social organization.[11]

The early pattern of occupancy was one of scattered homesteads in widely separated parts of the plateau. These clusters of small wooden huts grew into lineage centres and so into villages, usually maintaining strict exogamy. Until the advent of *Pax Britannica* in the early nineteenth century, the houses were built around three sides of a plaza, with its open side facing downhill for defensive purposes. Today only De:na:du preserves that plan; the other villages, of which there are about 370, are made up of several parallel lines of houses running along a hillside. Traditionally the senior brother among the patrilineal descendants of the founder

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was the village headman. Neighbouring villages (*hatti*), though of different lineages and even of different phratries, grouped themselves together for protective purposes under the headmanship of one prominent village into what I have called communes (*u:r*).[12] Thus Ke:ti, for example, is the leading village in Ke:ti commune, which embraces fifteen other contiguous villages, most of them belonging to one maximal lineage (*kuḍumbu*). The village headman of Ke:ti is also headmen of the commune.

We shall now examine legends of how the various clans and phratries became established on the hills to clarify the history of this intermittent migration. The recently formed Christian phratry will not be considered at this point, as it is more relevant to my discussion of modern cultural change.[13] The Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are distributed among fourteen intermarrying clans which trace their descent from six of the Hindu phratries.

The categories in what follows are treated roughly in order of social superiority. This hierarchy is not accepted, however, by Ha:ruvas and their supporters. Since Ha:ruvas come from the Brahma sept they have recently laid claim to an origin as Brahmins and therefore see themselves as superior to Wodeas and all other Badagas. At the other extremity they consider the Kumba:ras and Be:das to rank below Toreas, since the traditional occupations of the former—potters and huntsmen—could place them below Torea servants in the caste ideology of the Indian plains. The great majority of Badagas, in contrast, place Wodeas at the top and Toreas at the bottom of their social hierarchy.

WODEAS

The Badaga Lingayats are generally acknowledged to have been among the later groups to arrive. The contention that they were already Lingayat at that time (Macleane, 1893, 64) provides a meagre clue to the date of their migration, for their sect was founded in the mid-twelfth century and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*. Within sixty years of the founder's death (traditionally A.D. 1168) this egalitarian Hindu faith had spread throughout the Kannada-speaking region. It became the state religion when King Vijaya Wodeyar came to the throne in 1399 and remained so until 1610. However a descendant of his, Raja Wodeyar (who ruled from 1578 to 1617), drove the eponymous Wodeya chieftain Udaiya Raya of Ummattu:r up into the Nilgiris and captured his

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615 Kannada-speaking and until fifty years ago continued to intermarry with the Lords of Ummattu:r.[43]

Hatra Ko:te

Hatra Ko:te otherwise known as Udaiya Raya Ko:te or simply Atra, and nowadays called Ko:te Ha:da ('fort terrace'), has been described elsewhere (Congreve, 1847, 121-122; Francis, 1908, 333-334; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 105-106) and needs little discussion here. It lies seven kilometers southeast of Kotagiri, on a terrace in Burnside Estate where no traces of the building and few of the moats can now be found. Badaga tradition suggests that Udaiya Raya, a Shaivite chieftain, also built the fort on the plains at Kollandore, near Sirumuge in Coimbatore District (Congreve, 1847, 122; Francis, 1908, 333-334). He conquered all of the Poraṅga:du villages and won from them an annual tribute of 700 gold coins. This Poraṅga:du revenue passed through these two forts to Ummattu:r, while only the Todana:du tribute was collected at Male Ko:te. Hatra Ko:te was captured by Haidar Ali in the late eighteenth century and was also occupied by a Moslem garrison under his son Tippu. At that time it bore the name Syyudabad, and the hundred soldiers there under a captain (a *killidar*) named Ali Khan were responsible to a commander at Dannaika Ko:te in the plains below (Harkness, 1832, 126; Macleane, 1893, 1023). Here, as at Male Ko:te, the garrison was 'to keep the mountaineers in check and also to assist the Sultan's servants in collecting the yearly revenue' (Ward, 1821, lxv).

175 167 To summarize our conclusions briefly, the migrations from Mysore in all probability began by the start of the sixteenth century and became more intensive during the anarchy that followed the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire (1565). The question of when immigration ceased depends on two items of historical evidence: Finicio saw some Badagas at Me:lkunda in 1603, and scarcely any new villages have been established since the British arrived in 1819.[45] The answer thus lies between these two dates, and we conclude that before 1819 the Badagas had formed a closed community. The absence of any Vaishnavites among them favours the earlier dating for the termination of their migrations.[46] What led to their ultimate synoecism as a single community we can only guess.

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NOTES

000 1. See Ward, 1821, lxx. *Baḍaga* is pronounced with stress on the first syllable.

615 2. They do not intermarry with other Badagas but find spouses either within their own phratry or from castes also called Kumba:ras and Be:das in southern Mysore.

174 3. The first European to write of Badagas was St. Francis Xavier, who in 1542–1544 described them as a 'horde of plundering ruffians', 'bloodthirsty horsemen' and 'savage brigands'; see Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 218, 234-235.

• 175 These people are said to have been royal tax gatherers in Travancore, where they bore the name Badagas or Vadhougers because of their northern origin. They greatly oppressed St. Francis' converts among the Travancore fisher-folk; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, *passim*, and Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 266. Elsewhere they are stated to have come from Vijayanagar; see Maffei, 1589, vol. I, pt. 4, 431; Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2; Coleridge, 1872, vol. I, 219, n. 12. It seems unlikely that they had any connexion with the Nilgiri Badagas, especially as some authorities consider them Telugu speakers; see Bertrand, 1848, vol. II, 2, n. 1; Grigg, 1880, 219; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 830–831.

000 4. India now has about four million Lingayats; except for the Districts of Kolhapur (Maharashtra), Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), Coimbatore and the Nilgiris they are found solely within Karnataka State.

5. Belli Gowder was a Badaga antiquarian; in his unpublished notes he mistakenly took this date for 1212; Belli Gowder, 1938–1941, 5.

6. Francis, 1908, 129; his claim that Baḍagu has *beṭṭa* for modern Kannada *beṭṭu* ('hill') is incorrect: the reverse would be true.

7. Congreve, 1847, 96–98; Grigg, 1880, 243; Sewell, 1882, 226. There is a grant of A.D. 1120 stating that Vishhuvardhana, the first Hoysaja king, 'turned the Nīla mountain into a city'; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 92. The Toda name for the area is *pin iṯ*, 'gold mountain'; Francis, 1908, 357.

174 8. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 24–26; and 1938–1941, 5–6. It was the grandfather of Tu:ne:ri's founder who migrated from Mysore, at about the time the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed.

175 9. He reports three 'villages' but there may have been more at the time, especially if the word *u:r* ('commune') has been incorrectly translated as 'village' or if other settlers later considered Badagas were not then treated as such or were not known of in that part of the plateau. An inscription on a dolmen at Me:lu:ru relating to a tiger and a grant bears the Ša:ka date 1518 (A.D. 1596), but since it is in Tamil it perhaps has nothing to do with the Badagas; Breeks, 1873, 102–103; Grigg, 1880, 240. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 100, disagrees with this view; he believes the dolmen to have been erected more recently by two Gaundans.

10. Ward, 1821, lxx-lxxi; Harkness, 1832, 109. Certain villages still claim to have been founded by an official from Ummattu:r.

177 11. Benbow, 1930, 1-3; Karl, 1945, 1. A reference to the Mysorean practice of wearing a *sa:ri* is to be found in the funeral symbolism, wherein a female corpse is offered a piece of coloured cloth *(baṇṇa)*. Legend maintains that when the seven brothers of Maduve clan were fleeing from Mysore they left behind a baby slung from the rafters in a *sa:ri*. In token of their grief the women never more used *sa:ris* or cradles after settling in the Nilgiris.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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000 12. This usage accords with the definition in recent editions of Webster's *Dictionary*, e.g., 1967, 460. See below, p. 181, n. 2.

13. See below, pp. 223-225; also Diagram 9. There was supposedly a Christian community—but not necessarily of Badagas—near Avalanchi in the Kundena:ḍu division in medieval times: Finicio came in search of it, and the Todas have a legend about it; see Finicio, 1603, 719-720; Metz, 1864, 44; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106.

14. Metz, 1864, 53. The correct name for Seringapatam is Sri Ranga Pattana. On septs, see below, pp. 78-80.

15. The fact that Adikiris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Baḍagu is explained by their ready intermarriage with Gaudas. Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis; the Wodeas, Be:das, and Kumba:ras are mainly endogamous groupings.

16. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754; Francis, 1908, 131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73; Jogi Gowder, no date, 1: it is a Brahmin sept in Mysore.

17. Metz, 1864, 56; Macleane, 1893, 64. The same was true of Kaggusis; see below, p. 89.

18. Harkness, 1832, 106-107, note; Noble, 1976, 115-117; for Badaga polyandry, see Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754, 832, and Stuart, 1893, 243. Todas and Kurubas still practise polyandry; Thurston, 1906, 108-113.

614 19. Metz, 1864, 50-51; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 28. Adigaraṭṭi derives from *adikari* ('powerful man') and *haṭṭi* ('village'). A variant of this legend has the early Adikiris following a chieftain named Kariabetta Ra:ya who, like Moses, was fated to lead them to the promised land without setting foot on it himself. After passing through Ha:sanu:ru to Nellitore and staying there for a time, they went on to Attupaḍi, at the foot of the southeast slopes, and some settled there. Their Lingayat descendants still inhabit that village but are now Gaudas. The chieftain led the remainder on to found another village called Nerben, in Kundena:ḍu; it no longer exists. After the chieftain had died there some of the settlers went on to Nedika:ḍ, near Adigaraṭṭi, and soon founded the latter village. Descendants of the chieftain's family and retinue thus came to be called 'powerful men' because of their association with him, in recognition of which the *jammis* gave them the duty of village magistrates.

[562] 20. The pollution of having eaten meat can be removed from men alone.

000 21. Metz, 1864, 50-54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. The correct name for the outpost usually called Dannaika Koṭe or Danayakan Koṭṭe is Da:na Na:yaka Koṭe, 'the fort of the commander Dana;' Nicholson, 1898, 425-426. It was established in 1318 by Madappa Dapdanāyaka, who then was ruling over the Nilgiris and Wainad; Rea, 1910, 111; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 100. On Kollandore, see below.

615 22. Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 29-30; Karl, 1945, 2; the eldest, a cripple, settled at Ćinna Kunnu:r. Among the very early villages in *Todanaːḍu* were Kaḍana:ḍu, settled from Ka:rahaḷḷi (near Tagadu:r); Tu:ḍegu:r E:koni, from Kavaspadi (or Agasvadi) or else Tayu:r; Ćinna Kunnu:r, from Koṅgaḷḷi (near Ummattu:r); Ebbana:ḍu, from Urigaddige or Hossahaḷḷi; Ku:kalu, from Guṇḍuḷupe:te; Honatale, from Honhaḷḷi; and Su:lu:ru, from Su:lu:r. The earliest *Me:kunaːḍu* villages were Me:lu:ru, settled from Urigaddige or Veḷḷa:di; Tu:ḍu:ru, settled by the fourth of seven brothers from Poraṅga:ḍu and later deserted; Ta:mbaṭṭi, also settled from Poraṅga:ḍu; Ki:ṇu:ru and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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• 175 Nunduwa, settled from Urigaddige; Hulikal, from Honhalli; and Ke:ti, from Kongalli. The earliest *Kundena:du* villages were also settled from Kongalli. Apart from Honatale, Ki:ru:ru and Nunduwa, each of the above Badaga villages became the head of a commune as other hamlets grew up around it; and each is marked as head of a commune by having a ceremonial stone structure called *akka bakka*.

615 23. Another name sometimes given the Kasturis is Gangalu:ru; Metz, 1864, 58-59. This is quite possibly a variant of Gangadikara, the name of a large section of Okkaligas.

24. Metz, 1864, 49-50; Grigg, 1880, 221; Tignous, 1911, 117. A variant account is that he thought he had eaten meat, though the item was really a wild vegetable in the curry.

25. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 74. It may be significant that in the same census certain Okkaligas in Mysore gave their subcaste as Badagar; Rice, 1897, vol. I, 229. Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 80, derives only the Kasturi clan from Gangadikaras, but Gaudas of Ha:sanu:ru claim the same origin.

000 26. Metz, 1864, 47-48, 57-58; he gave the villages as Tayu:r and Tagadu:r. Tayu:r had a well-built mud fortress on a river bank. By 1801 it was in ruins and the countryside showed signs of having been much more cultivated in previous times; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 150-151.

615 27. Finicio possibly passed through Pa:du:r in 1603, causing the Badagas to flee to the jungle; Finicio, 1603, 729-730.

28. Baber, 1830, 314; for an instance of intermarriage between Nandalli and So:lu:ru see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

614 29. This account of their migration is confirmed by villagers in that part of the plateau.

000 30. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 755; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. A comparable usage is found in southern Mysore; see Epstein, 1962, 181.

614 31. Balu; 1960, 4. This story is not accurate in its details, for in 1760 the Governor of Madurai was an English creature, Yusuf Khan; perhaps Balu was referring to a skirmish with a tributary chieftain *(pa:layaka:r)*, but one bearing a suspiciously medieval name!

615 32. Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 136. This and other rings still in the possession of several headmen were given by Chikka Deva Raya (1672-1704), who supposedly took Kadana:du from Ummattu:r in 1676; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 100; Wilks, 1930, vol. II, 225; Emeneau, 1971, 102.

(M3) 33. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81, see below, p. 170. Pakkasu:ra, the chief of Hulikal Drug, is depicted in Badaga myth as a demon, whom the villagers had to feed with a daily cartful of rice complete with driver, until he was finally slain by the hero Bhima; compare Congreve, 1847, 142; Francis, 1908, 329. This story is a parochialized version of one in the *Mahabharata* I, 160; for 'the three kings or chiefs of the mountains,' see Harkness, 1832, 120. An inscription at Rampura, west of Nanjangud (Mysore), dated to A.D. 1504, describes one Govanna-Odeyar, a native of that place, as 'champion over the three kings, protector of the Nilagiri;' Rice, 1894, vol. III, 100, 191, n. 47. Emeneau, 1971, 1, records 'three kingdoms' in Toda thinking.

34. The exceptional nature of Kundena:du is underlined by the common Badaga phrase, 'All the four divisions, including Kunda.' The relative recency of its settlement is also indicated by the fact that it lies to the west of Me:kuna:-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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●M5
(M3)

45. Many Badagas now believe it was the excesses of Tippu Sultan's regime that prompted the migration; but the better informed admit that this would not allow sufficient time depth to encompass the history and consolidation of the community. Da:bakambe, founded near Kotagiri around 1950, is the only case of a very new village.

46. Rhiem (1900, 499–500) claims one unidentified village as Vaishnavite. I am unable to tell which it is but feel she was misinformed; compare Jagor, 1876, 202.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Place-Names and Cultural Ecology

A NEW SYSTEM OF THERAPY

167 The Badagas thus came to the Nilgiri Plateau as refugees and
• 175 settled there on land that in part they cleared from virgin tropical montane forest and that was in part granted them by a council of men from the indigenous Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes, people who had already occupied a thin scattering of hamlets on the hills for perhaps a millennium.

175 The Badagas can thus be seen, at least in the first three centuries
161 of their occupation, as frontiersmen whose population and number of settlements were slowly increasing over the decades. In 1603 there were only about 500 Badagas living in three villages (Finicio, 1603, 723). By the first British census, in 1812, they numbered 2207 people. But at this time, to judge by the same rough census (which perhaps excluded children), they had already become the numerically dominant community in the area: the Todas numbered only 179 (compared with possibly 1000 in 1603), and the Kotas 130; the Kurumbas and Irulas, two tribes living on the lower Nilgiri slopes, were not counted at all, though they were certainly there.

175 Furthermore, during this same period of two centuries the Badaga
361 settlement pattern became such a dispersed one that their hamlets increased in number from three to over 350. This expansion was in part the effect of fertile land being available and in part the result of an effective indigenous therapeutic system.

175 By the time of the first British visits, the Badagas had clearly

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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succeeded in adapting to their new social and geographic environment. We may presume that natural selection helped the population build up a genetic resistance to whatever montane illnesses had not previously affected the people when they were living in Mysore and that some lowland disease organisms were no longer able to survive at the new elevation, either because it was too high and cold for them or because the hosts among the scattered and tiny population died off without transferring these organisms to new hosts, or more probably because the population density was so low that, after one infection by any particular disease organism, antibodies were built up that protected all Badagas from any further infection in the near future. As the settlements expanded, the increasing numbers of people permitted greater transference of disease organisms and called for greater amounts of health care; but at the same time these settlements, located in most parts of the Nilgiri Plateau within a zone that lay between 1,200m and 2,200m feet elevation, gave people opportunities to select the more healthy residential sites, to explore micro-environmental differences in the area and most importantly to discover medicinal uses for dozens of new species of plants that were in many instances confined to the Plateau. We may presume that the pharmacological uses of local plants were discovered by Badaga women who worked as goatherds and closely observed the feeding habits of their animals. While it is true that Badagas do not keep goats today, they did so during the seventeenth century and later too.

After contact with the British a new equilibrium with their changed environment was achieved by the Badagas, and their population was able to increase rapidly for several decades while there was still a very low density of population. Why? One relevant factor, I would hypothesise, was that a change in their drinking habits followed the arrival of the British (from 1819 onward) and that this was associated with greater resistance to bacteria in the drinking water. The main drinks of the community at the time were fresh milk and stream water. Yet by the 1840s arrack, a locally made liquor, as well as tea and coffee, were common Badaga preferences. Other cultural practices confined infectious bacteria to relatively limited areas. Buffalo dung tended to collect in the stone kraals built just outside the villages. Similarly, indiscriminate spitting was not tolerated and spittoons were consequently in common use. A proverb stressed that, 'If you ask for an obligation it is essential to see the right people; it is essential

21 Hockings B-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 [514] to spit in the proper place.' With this attitude prevalent, the spread of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of [515] pubic hair have also contributed to health by restricting the [302] incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices 175 is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century and some village streams began to be polluted by this new 161 pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by [318] switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population since the advent of the British (Appendix 2).

175 At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical 177 transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of 262 fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas. The variety of their diet was thus greatly increased.

VILLAGE NAMES

121 A study of the present Badaga hamlet names yields a body of insights about the early settlements formed during the two and a half centuries preceding the first British report (Keys, 1812).

Perhaps a somewhat lyrical description of the Nilgiri Plateau may at this point aid the reader's understanding of what is to follow:

133 The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west, above the Ouchterlony Valley and southwards, its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes . . .

It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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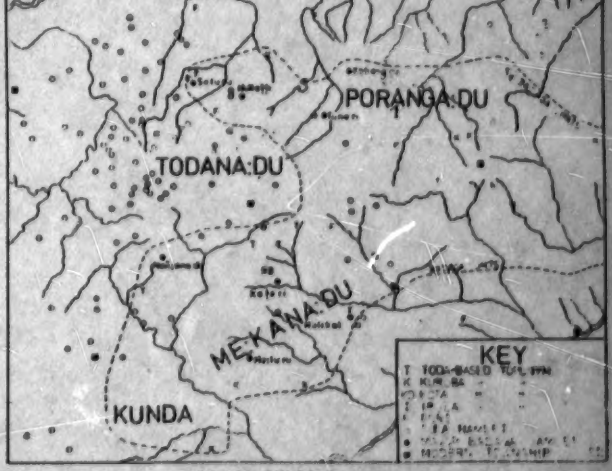
with a council from the three resident tribes: 'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours. We are helpless. You must help us.' (Emeneau, 1946, 257; cf. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81) The Toda sites they were given may have been uninhabited religious centers and unoccupied hamlets belonging previously to Toda clans that had died out.[7] The Kurumba sites were more probably relinquished to the Badagas only after the latter had committed some atrocities against the Kurumba sorcerers alleged to live in them. The burning of Kurumba hamlets was certainly a fairly common act of frightened Badagas during the nineteenth century, and numerous instances of it have been recorded by contemporary writers.

As an effect of the peaceful Badaga incursion, we can now identify with the help of a map (Map 3) some micro-environmental differences in the settlement patterns of Badagas, Todas and Kurumbas. The Todas now occupy the higher and more westerly plateau area commonly known as Wenlock Downs,



Map 3 Nilgiri place-names

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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103 Number of villages with, as referents:

dense forest	28
forest verge and clearing	33
open grassland	16
swampland	5

• 175 361 We obviously cannot push the meaning of such figures very far, but they do suggest that (at least for floral toponyms) more often than not the Badagas settled elsewhere than in the open but exposed grasslands favoured by the Todas for grazing. Beyond telling us the obvious—that swampland was a least-favoured locale for Badaga settlement—the latter break-down does make it clear that within their zone of occupation dense forests and clearings or the verges of woodland were much favoured over grasslands or savannas for village sites. The extra work needed to make fields by slash-and-burn techniques in the forest was more than compensated for by the much richer soil available there as compared with the lateritic grasslands and swamps where the Toda buffalo herds roamed. (Hamlets with toponyms referring to rocks and stones, it is important to note, are often located in areas that are or were forested; large trees beside their temples may still bear witness to this.)

103 Among the toponyms referring to particular plant species there are two mentioning millet:

Battakore (any millet)—at 2,050 meters
Togalatti (jungle dholl, a wild millet)—at 1,900 meters

Gamble's admirable *Flora of Madras* lists the ranges in elevation for the following millets (among others), all of them important in the Nilgiri economy:[8]

korali—Italian millet *(Setaria italica)*—'widely cultivated'
sa:me—slender millet (*Panicum miliare*)—up to 2,150 meters
tene or navane—black Italian millet *(Sacciolepis indica)*—up to 2,000 meters
barugu—Kodo millet *(Paspalum scrobiculatum)*—up to 2,150 meters
ra:gi—finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*—up to 1,500 meters

243 Metz's mid-nineteenth century account of the chief millets of the Nilgiris adds a little to our understanding of micro-environmental differences in their cultivation on the plateau:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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243 The most common grain is what the natives call Korrali, which... grows best in the colder districts Kundenad and Mekanad where the other finer grains do not grow.

Sāmé... which is considered the best kind of the several small grains of the Hills. It grows in the warmer districts and must have better soil.

Tenney or Navoney... which also grows only in warm places...

Varagu... which grows only on the slopes of the Hills in feverish places and requires... a warmer climate, than the Hill plateau affords.

Ragy... grows also only in places where the cold Monsoon wind cannot come... (Metz, 1864, 152–153)

In general a careful observer, the Rev. Metz (who roamed the plateau daily for a quarter of a century) mentions here *baragu* and *ra:gi*, two species that were cultivated mainly by Kurumbas and Irulas on the lower slopes because of the greater warmth needed. Though grown occasionally in the lowest Badaga hamlets, neither was an important crop. The other three species were the main subsistence crops for Badagas.

•175 We are led to the conclusion that the Badagas displaced
177 Kurumbas and perhaps some Todas as well in the zone which they
361 made their own, and which was best suited to dry cultivation of
[182] their millets. While the upper limits of the zone were apparently determined by the viability of these millets, the lower limits may have been determined not by horticultural requirements but by the elevation above which malarial parasites will not breed, about 1,000 meters. (The full development of the *plasmodium* parasites in mosquito requires a minimum daily temperature of 60°F (15.6°C), which is only maintained at the lower elevations relegated to the Kurumbas, Irulas and others.) In the mid-nineteenth century Hodgson (1856, 499–500) noted plateau sites 'where formerly Kurumba villages existed but where none are now found. It is well known that the Kurumbas were driven down from the healthful summit to the malarious slope of the hills....'

318 Not only did the Badaga settlers displace residents from these
[175] several tribes: they also removed much forest cover and radically changed the Nilgiri ecology, in the view of many experts, well before the first British planters arrived in the eighteen- forties.

There can be little question that these tracts, which are now

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Traditional Interchange (2)

BADAGAS AND TODAS

177 [178] Until quite recently every Badaga family maintained an exchanging relationship with a Toda man; some still do.[1] This relationship is inherited on either side by a son from his father and usually links one Toda to an entire Badaga village. This connexion is structurally different from the ties between Badagas and Kotas, as specific Toda women are not formally involved in it in the way that Kota wives are; for in a polyandrous society like the Todas' the fact that a woman might have several husbands simultaneously could mean that if she were associated with the Badaga partner of each she would become overwhelmed by the requirements of these divided loyalties. In practice the same Toda man is normally partner to all the Badagas in a village, and some are even linked with everyone in half-a-dozen neighbouring Badaga villages.

●175 648 Toda culture has seemingly changed less than either Badaga or Kota culture during the past century-and-a-half. Indeed Finicio, writing in 1603 (p. 723), describes the same economy and the same kind of interdependence with Badagas that Rivers was to find exactly 300 years later.

In the early days of European contact Harkness (1832, 39) noted:

> A very good understanding exists between these two tribes, the Tuda assuming to himself a superiority which the Burgher

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> [Badaga] has no inclination to dispute; and the former, content with this privilege, willingly yields to the latter the palm of superior civilization and domestic economy; which he would think dearly bought, if at the expense of any portion of his natural liberty, or of his freedom to range, when and where he pleases, over his native mountains.

648 In 1963 an elderly Toda summarized the present situation: 'The
[186] Badagas now consider themselves superior to the Todas as they have risen financially. The Todas do not accept the Badaga superiority. Todas are superior because they do not eat flesh, while Badagas do.' But further questioning revealed that the attitudes recorded by Harkness still pertain.

609 The nature of the status difference between the two communities is shown more precisely in their customary salutations, still sometimes performed.

> Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, . . . the Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin,* you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community . . . The salutation is made to members of all the various castes [phratries] of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful . . . The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 630; compare Walker, 1965: 78).

Although Badagas have in the past been strongly motivated to maintain their links with the Todas out of economic considera-
[186] tions, these links are apparently tinged with some distrust. While the Kurumbas are viewed by all neighbouring communities as highly dangerous sorcerers, many Badagas and Kurumbas believe Todas also have some lesser skill in sorcery; and this suspicion

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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648 186 may in part explain why some Badagas have kept up the exchange relationship even when they might have preferred to drop it.[2]

> There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told [in 1902] of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought... in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas.
>
> If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well... (Rivers, 1906, 635; cf. Thurston, 1912, 234).

Even natural catastrophes have been attributed by Badagas to the supernatural powers of Todas.

> When any epidemic prevails among the Badagas or a murrain decimates their cattle, their first endeavour is to discover the Todas, to whose enchantments the calamity may be attributed.... [c. 1847] the whole male population of two neighbouring Toda munds [hamlets] were taken before the chief Badaga of the district and accused of having killed the cattle by means of sorcery, the Badagas threatening at the same time to withhold their usual tribute of grain unless the murrain immediately ceased. The Todas readily consented to stop their enchantments... Shortly after, the disease abated and the simple Badagas at once viewed this as the result of their compact with the Todas (Metz, 1864, 21–22).

Metz once rescued a Toda from fifty Badagas who were on the point of hanging him for suspected sorcery, but more recently Badagas did murder a Toda sorcerer after one of their children died (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39; Metz, 1864, 34; Francis, 1908, 144; see below, p. 201).

Badaga Products

● 175 648 The above-mentioned 'tribute' of grain, or *gudu*, is well documented by the earlier writers. Finicio (1603, 727) mentions that at the start of the seventeenth century the Todas were subject and paying

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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tribute to the Badaga headmen. It is important to note that all later authorities talk of the Badaga headmen paying Todas; perhaps the Italian priest (who worked through an interpreter) was misinformed. In 1832 Harkness (p. 110) recorded that the Badagas were giving grain to the Todas 'rather as a free gift, than as tribute'. Ouchterlony, writing in 1848 (p. 38), considered it rent for the land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 15; Grigg, 1880, 328). The Todas themselves think of it as a rent for certain hamlet sites their ancestors gave the Badaga settlers.

The *guḍu* was not exactly a rent for land though, for when Badagas sold land to European planters there was never any stipulation that the new owners should give anything to the Todas; nor did the Todas advance such claims against these Europeans.[3] Furthermore there is no record of Todas objecting to the government's levy of its full revenue assessment on the Badaga lands whence the *guḍu* came (Breeks, 1873, 12–13).

The amount of *guḍu* varied, possibly from one part of the plateau to another or from harvest to harvest. Harkness (1832, 108, 110–111) noted that around Kotagiri the Badagas reserved about 36 litres for the Todas, half of that for the dairyman-priest; elsewhere much less was given.[4] In 1848 Ouchterlony wrote that the contribution varied 'according to the circumstances of the inhabitants, the owner of a rich house giving usually 1 cundagum = 20 kollagums [= 74 litres]; and those less opulent from ½ to ¼ cundagum...' However, he noted that although the Badagas professed to give one-sixth of their harvest, they in fact gave 'not above one-half of this proportion, if even so much, especially in the item of wheat which is so profitable to them' (Ouchterlony, 1848, 17; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 15). From this it appears that grain prices in the town markets were so high in 1847 that the Badagas chose to short-change Todas for the sake of extra cash income. In 1873 the *guḍu* was said 'formerly to represent about 1/10 or 1/8 or 1/5 of the gross produce' (Breeks, 1873, 9, note; Grigg, 1880, 333). The indefiniteness of the amount was discussed by Marshall (1873, 79):

> ... as no very accurate accounts are kept... this foraging [in Badaga villages] stands with the Toda in lieu of sport...; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst... the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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him on to repeat the visits.... The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities.[6]

Ouchterlony traces the origin of the grain gift to the earliest Badaga settlement on the hills. He attributes the subsequent decrease in the amount to a lack of deference on the part of the Badagas:

> ... some Burghers or "Buddaghars" came up the Hills and... asked permission to settle also and obtained it on condition of the payment of the "goodoo" or tribute of 1/6th. of their entire harvest. More Burghers soon followed the first comers; the amount of the "goodoo" became extensive; the habits of the Todars changed... the deference of the Burghers for them diminished, and with it the amount of the "goodoo", which received a great acceleration in its decline by the coming of the Europeans...; the Burghers observing their indifference to the alleged claims of sovereignty of their hitherto feudal landlords, gradually assumed the position of donors of the "goodoo" of free will, and as a charity; and hence reduced its amount as the circumstances of... harvest, or their own wants and inclinations, directed. Upon this footing... the "goodoo" appears at present to rest. The Burghers profess not to desire to be relieved from it as a tax, because to give it as a donation to the Todars has become with them a timehonored custom (Ouchterlony, 1848, 52–53; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 53–57).

648 Rivers, among others, suggests that the Badaga fear of Toda sorcery was one reason for the continuing payment of grain. But he adds correctly that Todas do own some disused dairies in the middle of Badaga fields, and that if the Todas became too estranged from Badagas they might re-assert their claims over these sites and so cause a few Badagas to lose farm-land. Another reason claimed for the continuing payment is that it might encourage Todas to restrain their herds from trampling the Badagas' fields (Breeks, 1873, 13; Lawley & Penny, 1914, 206; Emeneau, 1971, 45, 751). All of these arguments are denied by modern Todas, who now mention the great distance between most Toda grazing and Badaga lands, the non-existence of Toda sorcery, and the absence of any usable Toda dairies in Badaga

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guardian and watchman to all the constituent villages. This is a lifelong appointment which passes from father to son and involves warding off magical attacks from other Kurumbas with the watchman's own sorcery. As with Toda sorcery these 'magical attacks' were once a common way of interpreting crop failures and animal diseases as well as most human ills. A Kurumba watchman is expected to spend part of the time in his Badaga commune, where he generally lives on the veranda of the headman's house.[20] If he does not appear there very often the Badagas nevertheless believe he is magically present each night or else knows by clairvoyance what is going on in the villages; yet his visits tend to be frequent, for he is fed by the commune. The standard annual remuneration should nowadays be 3.7 litres of wheat or millet from each household.

Most Badagas still believe the Kurumba is the most effective of all South Indian sorcerers: he can kill people at a distance with a spell, can secretly remove internal organs from the living, can rape women without their knowledge, can enter a locked door and can change into an insect or any sort of mammal.[21]

Until perhaps two decades ago Badaga charges were often levelled against Kurumbas; even today the suspicion directed towards them is still strong. Formal charges of witchcraft, handled by Badaga commune councils, used to unite the Badaga community against an external threat of (or target for) aggression; and the massacres which sometimes followed such charges were clearly a tension-reducing activity for the Badagas:

> In 1836, no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba hut were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it . . . . Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas was murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village. The sympathies of the whole countryside were so strongly with the murderers that detection was made very difficult, and the persons charged were acquitted. (Thurston, 1912, 233-234, and 1909, vol. I, 86; he partly quotes from Stuart, 1901, 5; see below, p. 200).

Metz (1864, 123) also wrote on this tension:

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Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain.[23] At harvest time he would also receive the same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously—treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65–66; Nicholson, 1898, 426–427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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unknown antiquity).[25] This is controlled by Irula priests—who, unlike most South Indian tribals, are Vaishnavites. The two monoliths inside the stone circles represent the god Ranga and his wife, to whom some of the local Badagas make a yearly offering of plantains, milk and coconuts:

> The hereditary pújári is an Irula, and on the day fixed by the Badagas for the annual feast, he arrives from his hamlet . . ., bathes in a pool below the summit, and marches to the top shouting 'Góvinda! Góvinda!' The cry is taken up . . . and the whole crowd, which includes Badagas, Irulas and Kurumbas, surrounds the enclosures while the Irula priest invokes the deities by blowing his conch and beating his drum, and pours oblations over, and decorates with flowers, the two stones which represent them. That night two stone basins on the summit are filled with ghee [clarified butter] and lighted, and the glare is visible for miles around. The ceremonies close with prayers for good rain and fruitfulness among the flocks and herds, a wild dance by the Irula, and the boiling . . . of much rice in milk. (Francis, 1908, 340; compare Ward, 1821, lxii; Breeks, 1873, 70; Macleane, 1893, 373).

While Badaga contact with the Irulas was less frequent than with other tribes, one of the major 'sanskritizing' influences in the Nilgiris was clearly constituted by the Irulas until the latter part of the last century. As Metz observed (1864, 133), 'They come up now and then . . . and divert the inhabitants with obscene theatrical performances representing passages in the life of Krishna, whom they call Govinda'. The Abbé Dubois (1906, 196) pointed out how in the early 1800s Rangasa:mi Peak was a place of pilgrimage for Hindus from the plains, who 'have made it a *punyasthala*, or place of virtue . . . As it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone . . . is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin . . . .' Those stalwart pilgrims who did clamber up the peak could hardly have failed to influence local Badagas to some extent in pre-British times.

For such services as their Krishna dramas and occasional medical therapy Irulas used to get grain from the Badagas, a gift which was probably in the nature of a *douceur*, for Irulas were also considered sorcerers (though less powerful than the true Kurumba). Some Badagas living close to Irulas probably had a more

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Early Patterns of Trade

ORIGINAL STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Little is known about the Badaga economic system prior to the arrival of British officials in 1812, except that the exchange of goods and services outlined in the previous two chapters was undoubtedly in operation.[1] It is nevertheless worth surveying the available sources since the pre-monetary economy of the period preceding the impact of European economic ideas has till now been influential on Nilgiri cultures, despite their monetization for well over a century. Some of the most detailed information lies in the traditions of the Badagas. Because of the high degree of correspondence between tales from different parts of the plateau, their content seems to be factual rather than imaginary and can go a long way towards explaining the many vestiges of this indigenous economy that one can observe even today.

The earliest mention of Badagas in the Nilgiris is by Finicio, who reports an encounter with both Badagas and Todas. The Badagas told him they had only three villages on the plateau, but this information may be misleading.[2] Finicio describes a village called Melcunta$\tilde{o}$—presumably the modern Me:lkunda—which at the start of the seventeenth century already had a population of one hundred and fifty to two hundred with an adequate mixed-farming economy. The priest mentions that these Badagas had cattle, poultry, goats; that they grew lentils, 'rice' (presumably a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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115 millet), mustard seed, garlic and wheat; and they also ate honey. At this early date the Badagas were not self-sufficient, for they gave the Todas 'rice' in exchange for buffalo ghee. He added that Badagas also carried this clarified butter to a place called Manaracathe to sell (Finicio, 1603, 723). This is evidently the Manna:ru Ghat, or escarpment track, which runs from Malabar to the Sundepatti Pass, and which then leads up the south side of the plateau to Me:lkunde.[3] Whether coinage was obtainable by such transactions we are not told. The same description might well have been penned by another visitor 200 years later.

Nothing was however written about the following two centuries although that was the period when the community expanded to nearly 350 villages and consolidated itself. The next mention of Badagas is in Buchanan's survey of 1800 (1807, vol. II, 246–247), when he tells briefly of their having ploughs, practising swidden cultivation and gathering jungle produce, including honey and bees-wax.[4]

[M] From about 1809 to 1812 several Britons explored the hills.[5] Apparently they had no impact on the local economy. The 1812 expedition was to survey the area quickly and report back to the Collector of Coimbatore, under whose charge the tract had nominally rested since the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799. Keys' short report (1812) contains some valuable material to add to what little we glean from Finicio, Buchanan and the oldest traditions of the Badagas themselves.

115 117 In 1819 the first settler, John Sullivan, came to the plateau and set in motion a train of events which quickly and significantly transformed the indigenous economy into a monetized one. Over the succeeding years the European population slowly increased; but it was only after 1838, when coffee was introduced, that Europeans had any commercial reason for taking up residence in the area. Long after that date the great bulk of Europeans remained in the three towns of the plateau, so that their influence on the rural economy may well have been slight. Not until the 1850s is there documentary evidence of any modification of the Badaga farming economy that can be attributed directly to the British presence. What O'Malley (1941, 12) has observed for Moghul India in general is also an accurate summary of the Nilgiri situation throughout the last century:

175 659 The only contact with the villages was by means of local officials

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175 657 having their head-quarters in the towns, who were responsible for the patrolling of the main routes, the suppression of organized crime, and the realization of the land revenue. So long as it was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace endangering the general security or outbreaks of crime preventing the safe passage of travellers and merchandise, the villages were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases and village watchmen to prevent petty crime.

127 A detailed account of the economy up to the year 1830 (when a large part of the plateau was transferred from Coimbatore to the Malabar administration) can be reconstructed from several reports, mainly British.[6] These provide us with a list of Badaga produce which can be amended slightly by modern informants.

175 241 The main items[7] cultivated by Badagas in the early nineteenth century were wheat, barley, panic-seed, the Italian, finger and slender millets, poppy, prince's feather, mustard seed, black gram, field peas, chick pea or Bengal gram, pepper, rose-mallow seeds; garlic, onion, fenugreek, country bean, pumpkin and gourd.

175 (231) The main animal products in this period were cow and buffalo milk, clarified butter (made more by Todas than by Badagas), hides (prepared by Kotas from Badaga animals), bullocks used in ploughing and threshing, and a few large poultry. No sheep were kept, though Finicio and Birch had noticed goats in the hills (Finicio, 1603, 723; Keys, 1812, li; Birch, 1836, 103).

Materials gathered from the jungle included kitchen fuel, honey, bees-wax, hay, wild flax, gentian, sandalwood, rattan cane and black dammer or resin.

175 439 The items usually imported and exported by Badagas are also known from these same sources. The imports were coarse cloth, salt, tobacco, iron bars for the Kota blacksmith (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), coarse sugar made from a palm sap, trinkets and coinage.

Exports included wheat, barley, some superior millets, bales of millet and barley hay and wild flax (all used for fodder), poppy capsules and opium, honey, bees-wax, garlic, onion, mustard seed, pepper, fenugreek, gentian, rose-mallow seed, clarified butter, sandalwood, hides, cane—and coinage paid in land taxes to an official at Dannaika Ko:ţe.

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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MARKETING BEFORE 1825

Until the British encouraged sundry traders from the plains to establish a weekly bazaar in Ootacamund around the year 1825,[8] there was no market-place on the plateau itself, and coinage did not circulate much among Badagas. Nevertheless they did participate slightly in the market economy of the plains early in the last century. Depending on the position of their villages some went down the eastern slopes to the market of Ka:ramuḍu (in Tamil, Ka:ramaḍai), others chose a route down the northern slopes to the Mysore town of Guṇḍuḷupe:te and those in Kundena:ḍu went southward (as in Finicio's day) to Sundepatti, a small market in the westernmost corner of the Coimbatore Plain.[9] Apart from visiting Ka:ramuḍu (which they called Koṅgu, meaning 'plains') they never had any occasion to travel extensively on the Coimbatore Plain. Guṇḍuḷupe:te used simply to be called Pet: this meant 'a place where people gather together', hence a market; or according to some, 'a place where cattle gather'. For a long time it was a major cattle market in southern Mysore.

Early each March the Kanarese Chettis and other people of Ka:ramuḍu held a festival to honour the god Raṅgana:tan, after which there was a large cattle fair and general market.[10] A delegation of Badaga men from villages in the eastern part of the Nilgiris attended that festival every year.[11] They would first help drag the chariot of the deity and then would barter goods for coinage and whatever else they needed. There seems to have been no fixed date for the annual visit of more westerly villagers to Guṇḍuḷupe:te, but it coincided roughly with the Ka:ramuḍu expedition. In both cases the Badagas obtained provisions for their main harvest festival, the Great Festival,[12] which falls in March or April, and salt for the ceremonial feeding of their cattle in March. In Guṇḍuḷupe:te Lingayats could also buy personal *liṅgas* at the monastery. In view of the long walk from these markets and the 1500 m. ascent, it is not surprising that the items bought were small and fairly valuable.

All three trading expeditions were organized on the same principle. Permission to go was first obtained from the village headmen, then preliminary arrangements were made as to who would go and the time of their departure. The Badaga headmen would then send a message to neighbouring Kota headmen, thus giving Kotas an opportunity to join the party, for the Kotas did not

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organize their own expeditions. Todas sometimes also joined, trading clarified butter and honey for tobacco, trinkets and cloth. Their clarified butter was much appreciated in the plains and was 'transported great distances, even as far as Bombay' (Hough, 1829, 72). The trading party would be at least twenty-strong, and sometimes hundreds went together—after carefully taking off all their valuables. This arrangement was important to the participants because of the dangers, real or imaginary, which they could expect as they passed through steep jungle tracks infested by tigers, elephants, wild buffalo, wolves, brigands and Kurumba sorcerers.

Until the 1830s certain Badagas, generally commune headmen, habitually walked once a year to the fort at Dannaika Ko:ṭe, below the eastern slopes.[13] The Nilgiri Plateau formed a part of the Dannaika Ko:ṭe *taluk* (revenue division) from Tippu Sultan's administration up to 1830. This was a convention important only for the collection of land revenue from the Badagas and Kotas. Each farmer was assessed a fixed rate by the officers, dependent on the total rather than the cultivated area he held; the rate did not decrease if some fields remained uncultivated one year. Traditions mention occasional visits by Tippu's officers to extract payment from the unwilling villagers (Metz, 1864, 119; Grigg, 1880, 312, 325; Emeneau, 1946, 255). In 1799, after Tippu was killed, the plateau passed into the hands of the East India Company by the Treaty of Seringapatam, and for over twenty years the British continued to collect Nilgiri revenues at Dannaika Ko:ṭe. Their estimates were now based not on acreage but on a farmer's wealth. Each year therefore the headmen carried their collected taxes down in coin. While at the fort they could also visit the nearby market towns of Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Sirumuge (Metz, 1864, 5).

Very likely one of the reasons for the trading expeditions was to sell enough of the new harvest and other produce to get the coinage needed for the tax payment, although this could in part be paid with opium (Francis, 1908, 290; Price 1908, 224). Coinage was scarcely in circulation on the plateau at this time, especially since there was no market there until 1825. Coins had, however, found a ceremonial use. Ward (1821, lxxiii; cf. Rivers, 1906, 361-362) mentions gifts of a quarter or half rupee to Todas on the occasion of Badaga weddings. Rupee coins also reached the Todas, presumably from their transactions with Badagas and from the expeditions, for a number of the coins still displayed in Toda funerial ritual are East India Company silver rupees of the late-eighteenth century.

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175 436 (586) As further evidence of the ceremonial circulation of coinage Ward (1821, lxxi) also discusses Badaga bridewealth,[14] and the payment of twenty Cantirai fanams (coins totalling nearly six rupees) to a mother when, after divorce, she gave custody of her newborn child to her former husband. To judge by later Badaga practices it is very likely that a gift of coins[15] was already an integral part of all family ceremonies. Such a gift was actually a delayed exchange and implied that a return gift was expected later when similar circumstances arose. By 1848 only the East India Company's coinage was in circulation, but a good deal of it was also hoarded by burial or made into ornaments (Ouchterlony, 1848, 72; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 72).

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175 436 This system of coinage circulation was very slow and uncertain, as it depended on the occasional celebration of weddings and other family events. Coins clearly had a ritual value for Badagas and were important in this period as a symbolic link between various social units (as to some extent they still are). We have no definite evidence that coins were used for payment of fines to the headmen as early as the eighteenth century; but throughout much of the nineteenth century a regular schedule of fines was maintained in Badaga judicial practice.[16] Coinage did not define values in a local Nilgiri market but did act as a convenient and reliable means of storing credit acquired in the lowland markets where, from 1799, the British pursued a policy of fixing local grain prices by currency values.

175 651 By the start of the last century the Badagas had become 'terribly impoverished', and most were heavily in arrears with payment of land revenue. 'The rates of assessment were undoubtedly low', were based on acreage and 'varied with the appearance of the crop at harvest-time' (Grigg, 1880, 312; Francis, 1908, 268). During the first thirty years of British rule a decline in these payments set in.

175 652 From 1799 to 1813 the average annual revenue from the entire plateau was Rs. 14,762, but over the next fourteen years it fell to Rs. 6,000 (Grigg, 1880, 292; Francis, 1908, 268). In 1801 it was Rs. 13,425; in 1811 it was Rs. 15,067 (Grigg, 1880, 314); in 1821 it was Rs. 9,000 (Mackworth, 1823, 123–126); and by 1830 it was down to Rs. 6,000 (Baber, 1830, 314). There were several reasons (651) for this decline, the most general one being the meagre control over the plateau that could be exercised from Dannaika Ko:ţe; Sullivan attributed the low revenue to lack of a proper road (Grigg, 1880, 280–281, 314). The tax-farmers who operated for some time on the

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plateau, from 1807,[17] were too demanding of the dues they had paid the East India Company for the privilege of collecting, while in some other years the commune headmen were too slack about the collection. The drought of 1805–1807, the general shortage of coin, the after-effects of Tippu's plundering of Badaga villages, all perhaps contributed to the decline in the payments, if not the fortunes, of the Badagas at this period.

Despite the British policy of fixing grain prices they did show fluctuations from year to year. Sarada Raju's excellent study of economic conditions in Madras Presidency during the first half of the nineteenth century clarifies these fluctuations. He does not offer specific data for Coimbatore District (which then included the Nilgiris); nevertheless he is surely justified in his view that on a long-term basis the trend was similar in all districts (Sarada Raju, 1941, 227). As his statistical data for the Presidency adequately confirm (1941, 228–230),

> ... prices were high in the first few years of the nineteenth century. The country had just emerged from a protracted period of war and anarchy during which rival armies and plundering bands had laid whole districts desolate. Cultivators who had fled to the jungles and hills were but gradually returning to their neglected fields.... The period was also marked by a number of scarcities, more or less severe. The very first year, 1799–1800, witnessed a severe dearth and again between 1805 and 1807 occurred another famine, when prices ruled very high. After this prices were persistently low ... from 1807–8 to 1850–51 prices rose above the [economic analyst's] base only on seven occasions; and these were famine years.
>
> When the pendulum swung back, low prices ruled till 1812, when two dry seasons caused a scarcity which lasted till 1813–14. But with the coming of the rains, a lower level was reached and we hear frequent complaints of the "continued low price of grain".... All the Collectors remarked about it, affecting as it did the ryots' [peasants'] ability to pay the revenue (Sarada Raju, 1941, 231–232).[18]

While several seasons of adverse weather mentioned by Sarada Raju did give rise to famine conditions in Coimbatore District, which was one of the driest in the Presidency, it is very unlikely that famine also occurred on the Nilgiri Plateau at those times.

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their Nilgiri acquisitions for further produce to take up to the hills.

According to modern Badaga informants their forebears did not use cash at the Ootacamund market during the first two decades of its existence. They exchanged the products of their own lands for the foodstuffs brought up by Chettis. In this way the Nilgiri Plateau was exporting a variety of goods to Ka:ramuḍu and its environs, especially clarified butter, onions, honey, coriander, opium and millet hay.

The initial period of barter in the bazaar passed as the town acquired a few regular shops. Later in the nineteenth century coinage came into use in the market, now open every day, and a government superintendent fixed the day's prices (Ouchterlony, 1848, 72; Price, 1908, 187). One could even borrow money there at 2 or 3% per month interest (depending on the security). Monday and Tuesday in Ootacamund, Thursday in Sirumuge, Friday in Ka:ramuḍu and Saturday in Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya are however still called 'shandy days',[21] and it is still customary for Badagas to visit the Nilgiri towns on Monday, their weekly holiday, and to send truckloads of farm produce to Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya or to Ka:ramuḍu each Friday. The transition to exclusive use of coinage in the market took a very long time, for as recently as 1924 Gaymard was able to remark that when they made their weekly trips to town some Badagas did not carry a purse but instead a basket or sackful of grain which they would exchange there for salt, pimentos, utensils and cloth (Gaymard, 1924, 2-3).

ITINERANT TRADERS ON THE PLATEAU

Both before and after these town bazaars were established the Badagas maintained another kind of link with the lowland economy. Chettis from villages lying directly east of the Nilgiris used to (and still do) come up onto the plateau once a month on foot for petty trading. Badagas call them Regional Chettis *(pa:ḍu ceṭṭi)*, in reference perhaps to the restricted range of each man's trading itinerary. Although living in a Tamil-speaking area their native tongue is Kannada. Their settlements in and near the towns of Sirumuge, Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya and Ka:ramuḍu are concerned with petty trade, weaving and agriculture. The Chetti and his family weave cloth in their home for the Badagas; and until the advent of the Ootacamund bazaar they were the regular source for cloth

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among the entire Nilgiri population.

Chetti merchandise consists of cloth, lamp-wicks and various trinkets, which are exchanged for grain or cash when available. Since the early nineteenth century these traders have also made and bartered iron measures of volume, artifacts that had previously been made out of bamboo by the Todas.[22] The Nilgiri system of measures differed significantly from that of southern Mysore, presumably because these Chettis and the officers at Dannaika Ko:ţe imposed the standards of Coimbatore markets on the Badagas.

Each Badaga village has a traditional barter relationship with a particular Chetti man, inherited on either side by a son from his father; and despite the vast economic changes since the inception of this system some centuries ago the relationship continues today, modified only by a very considerable drop in the number of clients and volume of trade. During the ten days of his visit the Chetti works through two or three villages a day, restricting himself to the two dozen or more villages of his recognized territory, and then returns to his home in the plains. After twenty days of work there he returns to the plateau and repeats this circuit. Contiguous territories are covered by different Chettis often from the same village, so that one can send a message to his own Regional Chetti by contacting another one on tour in the hills. Although a Chetti may sometimes bring his wife with him all dealings occur between him and the Badaga men. If the Chetti's wife accompanies him it is only to strengthen the bonds of friendship with his Badaga trade associates, by making conversation with the Badaga womenfolk. During nights on the plateau the Chetti sleeps in the outer room of a Badaga friend. He is allowed to eat in that room as well but is expected to wash his own plate, an act indicative of his lower status.

The relationship between Badagas and Chettis is very different in character from that linking Badagas with Todas or Kotas. Until well into the twentieth century the latter link[illegible]s were crucial for the flow of necessary goods to members of the three communities; whereas trade with Chettis was never anything more than a convenience which in earlier times saved Badagas from extra journeys to the plains and more recently to the nearest bazaar. The Chetti is considered a foreigner as he is from the plains. Normally his Badaga friends need not visit his village: there is no ceremonial gift-exchange between the two and little participation in each

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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other's rituals. This contrasts with the intensity of the relationships uniting the various peoples of the plateau (compare Diagram 8, p. 100).

We know of only two occasions when Chettis and Badagas do have some ritual interaction: one in the plains, the other on the hills. Perhaps two centuries ago, and certainly before British suzerainty in the area, the Chettis of Ka:ramudu, acknowledging that they were becoming wealthier because of trade with the Nilgiris, built a larger temple to their god Rangana:tan and started the annual chariot-dragging festival in his honour. It was this festival day that the Badagas always chose as the best time for their yearly trading expedition; the trading was preceded by mandatory participation in the ceremonies (Nicholson, 1898, 352; see above, p. 138).

Secondly, one of the major Badaga festivals, in honour of their goddess Hette ('grandmother'), is held in Be:ragani village, where there is a special building called Weaving House belonging in common to the whole village. Several days before the annual festival their Regional Chetti comes up from near Sirumuge to sit in this house and weave a year's supply of new clothes for the priest. These are a loincloth, turban and shawl, all of cotton, for the making of which the Chetti gets a fixed amount of cash from the temple funds (Francis, 1908, 317). These men do not otherwise weave while touring the plateau.

NOTES

1. 'There are no manufactures on the hills and much less of trade'; an exaggeration from Keys, 1812, li; compare Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 108.
2. See above, p. 40, n. 9. It may be mentioned that both Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* refer to a town called Nelkynda, but this was probably Nirkundram, near Kottayam in Kerala.
3. It connects with the most westerly part of the Coimbatore Plain, in the upper valley of the Bhavani, as well as with Malabar District; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 105.
4. He did not ascend the hills but made his enquiry at the foot, on the Coimbatore side; Grigg, 1880, 277, Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106, and Price, 1908, 2.
5. Burton, 1851, 270; Metz, 1864, 6; Balfour, 1885, 1099; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 107, n. 1. Among these people was Colonel A. MacLeod who spent some months in military movements in the Wainad in 1804. Several Badaga boys born on the day of his visit were named MacLeod; see Metz, 1864, 6; Grigg, 1880, 312; Price, 1908, 10. Other early visitors included H. Bevan and L.G. Ford (1809), William Morrison (1812), and W. Keys and MacMahon (1812).
6. Keys, 1812, li; Sullivan, 1819, lv; Macpherson, 1820, lvii; Ward, 1821, lviii.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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lxv; De La Tour, 1822, 261; Baber, 1830, 315; Harkness, 1832, 136-137; Birch, 1838, 103; 'Stocqueler,' 1845, 579; Price, 1908, 8; Sarada Raju, 1941, 107-108. On the partition of the district, see Grigg, 1880, 290-291, 303, and Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 117. See also Hockings, 1973.

7. Botanical identifications for the species referred to in this study, here arranged alphabetically, are as follows: almonds *(Terminalia catappa)*, barley *(Hordeum hexastichon)*, betel or areca nut *(Areca catechu)*, black dammer or resin (from *Canarium strictum*), black gram *(Phaseolus mungo)*, chick pea or Bengal gram *(Cicer arietinum)*, coconut *(Cocos nucifera)*, coffee *(Coffea arabica)*, common millet *(Panicum miliaceum)*, coriander *(Coriandrum sativum)*, country bean *(Dolichos lablab)* fenugreek *(Trigonella foenum-graecum)*, field peas *(Pisum arvense)*, finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*, flax *(Linum mysorense)*, garlic *(Allium sativum)*, gentian *(Gentiana pedicellata)*, gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)*, great millet *(Andropogon sorghum)*, Italian millet *(Setaria italica)*, Italian rye *(Lolium italicum)*, lime *(Citrus aurantifolia)*, mustard *(Brassica juncea)*, oats *(Avena sativa)*, onion *(Allium cepa)*, panic-seed *(Setaria pallidifusca)*, pepper *(Piper schmidtii)*, poppy *(Papaver somniferum)*, potato *(Solanum tuberosum)*, prince's feather *(Amaranthus paniculatus)*, pumpkin *(Cucurbita pepo)*, rattan cane *(Calamus spp.)*, rose-mallow *(Hibiscus esculentus)*, sandalwood *(Santalum album)*, slender millet *(Panicum miliare)*, tea *(Camellia sinensis)*, tobacco *(Nicotiana tabacum)*, turmeric *(Curcuma longa)*, and wheat *(Triticum dicoccum)*.

8. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115. This area is now the playing field between the Lawley Institute and the Botanical Gardens.

9. Baikie, 1857, 25. In the mid-nineteenth century the Sundepatti and Manna:ru Passes provided a safe short-cut for smugglers between Coimbatore and Malabar; Ouchterlony, 1848, 75; Grigg, 1880, 19, 291.

10. Nicholson, 1898, 352. Note that the deity is a Vaishnavite one; its chariot-dragging festival is still held. See above, p. 145.

11. After crossing the Bhavani River in a rattan coracle covered with skins; Mackworth, 1823, 118-119; Grigg, 1880, 295. Once a market was opened in Ootacamund Ka:ramudu ceased to have much importance for Badagas; Francis, 1908, 340.

12. *dodda habba*; on the salt ceremony, see Hockings, 1968c, *passim*.

13. This fourteenth-century fortress, now submerged by the Bhavani Dam, controlled the important Gajalatti Pass which links southern Mysore with the Coimbatore Plain; Nicholson, 1898, 425-427.

14. Ward erroneously calls the sum a dowry.

15. Later in quarter and one rupee denominations.

16. In the amounts of Rs. ¼, ½, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24 and 48; but see below, p. 172.

17. Also the case in some other districts of Madras Presidency; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247; Grigg, 1880, 286, n. 1.

18. The years 1803-1805 were a period of drought in the Nilgiris; Grigg, 1880, 279, n. 2.

19. There were as yet no Moslem traders.

20. Cloth was not among the trade items. The Coonoor Pass was completed in 1833; Grigg, 1880, 17.

21. Shandy means 'market', from the Tamil *cantai*.

22. Foodstuffs were usually traded by volume rather than weight, for scales were never used in or near the Nilgiris.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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7

Growth of the Cash Economy

IMPACT OF BRITISH IDEAS ON THE BADAGA ECONOMY (1799-1850)

During the first half of the nineteenth century the British took a number of administrative steps which moved the basal Badaga economy decisively, if unintentionally, into the status of a monetized market economy. The ceding of the Nilgiri Plateau to the East India Company by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799 was the first step in this process. Though it was another twenty years before any British actually settled on the plateau the demand of land-revenue payment became more insistent and regulated than it had been under Tippu Sultan's tenuous régime. Badagas must therefore have been obliged to trade more persistently with the lowlands to acquire the coinage being demanded at the Dannaika Kote outpost every year.[1]

A second point of impact on the Badaga economy was the Company's policy of fixing grain prices. The rigid control of prices, attempted by the District Collectors throughout Madras Presidency, must have encouraged the Badagas to market grains in the Coimbatore Plain (which lay within that Presidency), where they could feel somewhat confident about getting satisfactory prices and not being cheated. Had the grain prices been more of a gamble the Badagas would have been less inclined to produce a surplus of grain and carry it the long distance down to the market.

When the pioneering John Sullivan came to the hills in 1819 he

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 177 241 gave Badagas superior seed grains from Europe, as well as seeds of various European vegetables.[2] This increased grain production somewhat and started Badagas growing vegetables they were not accustomed to eating. And as the British population increased so did the demand for locally grown European vegetables: a handful of Badaga farmers, being able to supply them, were thus drawn further into the market economy.

175 177 871 One area in which the British tried to effect early changes without success was formal education. In 1820 or 1821 Sullivan founded a school at the Wodea village of De:na:ḍu, directly above Dannaika Ko:te, but the enterprise (prompted no doubt by a need for local clerks) was apparently a failure (Ward, 1821, lxx; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113). In 1830 Sullivan founded another school at Ku:kalu, also in the northeast of the plateau, to teach Badaga boys the Tamil and Kannada languages. Another was probably founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1830 at Dimbatti (Moses, 1964, 11). Among the few youths who acquired some education there was an attitude that is still voiced today and portended changes in the occupation pattern: they considered themselves fitted by schooling for a lifetime of something better than manual labour (Harkness 1832, 69–70). Another school, the first to use English as a medium, was established by a former judge, George J. Casamajor, at Ke:ti in 1845. This became the local headquarters of the Basel Mission in the same year, and a school has been there more or less constantly ever since. (In 1901 it became the first Badaga high school [Francis, 1908, 332; Moses, 1964, 13].) In Casamajor's time parents had to be paid one anna a day before they would send their sons to the school. It was only in the latter half of the century, after the Mission was well established at Ke:ti and elsewhere and several more schools had been founded, that education became at all popular with Badagas. For this achievement German pertinacity should take some credit; but after 1856 Badagas began to realize that literacy in Tamil was the only sure road to jobs in the local bureaucracy and so started to value schooling (Grigg, 1880, 423).

175 177 464 In the early days of European settlement the British frequently needed day-labourers to do jobs in the developing Nilgiri towns. A large number of lowland immigrants now lived and worked in these towns, but Badagas were also occasionally hired by English men and paid a daily rate in cash. Around 1827, however, it has been observed that

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> The hill people are so independent. . .that no temptation of wages will induce them to engage . . . as coolies, and they are only prevailed upon to work from a conviction that, refusing to do so, Government might make some just demands against them for increase of rent [land revenue]. . . .[4]

By the 1840s there were many Badaga families earning a certain amount during a few months of each year from townspeople, from plantations and perhaps from the new Mission (Ouchterlony, 1848, 64; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64). Their economy was now monetized, though the majority of families were still dependent on farming for their food requirements.

EXPANSION OF THE MARKET ECONOMY (1850–1900)

During the second half of the nineteenth century far-reaching economic changes triggered by the British settlers introduced the concept of competition and the importance of valuation to the Badagas. There is little indication of any competitiveness in their indigenous exchange activities or bartering practices before about 1840.

The opening of coffee (1838) and tea (1846) plantations on the plateau called for a great deal of manual labour; and by the 1850s many Badaga men found themselves competing for the first time with immigrants in a labour market.[5] Each group constituted one-half of the work force (Grigg, 1880, 399), but the British estate owners now preferred Badaga workers to immigrants because of their diligence. The labourers were paid in cash, not grain.

Secondly, the sizeable European population on the hills was now requiring quantities of cabbage, carrot, potato and other European vegetables which some Badaga farmers were able to supply. Their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was readily adapted to the new crops (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 35); and their venture was helped by a climate not unlike that of northwestern Europe (an English poet later was to muse on 'the sweet, half-English Neilgherry air').

During the latter half of the century a wide variety of indigenous farm products also found their way into the local market.[6] These foodstuffs were local varieties of wheat and barley, Italian, finger and slender millet, prince's feather (or amaranth), mustard seed,

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Table 3. *Occupations of the interviewed males, 1963*

		Rural Badagas	*All other Nilgiri rural communities*
I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%	30.7%
II	Agricultural labourer	5.0%	32.3%
III	Forestry and livestock	0.0%	7.4%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%	5.8%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%	1.6%
VI	Construction	4.0%	2.6%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%	6.9%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%	4.2%
IX	Teaching and 'professions'	13.0%	5.3%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%	3.2%
		(*n*=301)	(*n*=189)

178 184 182 619 [621]

The 1970s find an increasing number of young, college-educated Badagas settling in towns with their wives and taking well-paid jobs. These people still observe community endogamy, but in other respects their behaviour suggests that the distinctive identity of the Badaga community is nearing its end. It is no longer uncommon for urban Badagas to address rural Badagas in Tamil rather than their own language: ashamed of the state government's designation of their people as a 'Backward Class',[28] they are trying to merge with the South Indian city society and deny what they consider an 'uncivilized' parentage. Few such people regularly visit their native villages now. Once marriage with non-Badagas increases and becomes acceptable the palisade around their community will have fallen.

NOTES

● 175 651

1. Even though there was no tax-farmer on the plateau to harrass them until 1807; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247.
2. Harkness, 1832, 138, note; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 17; Grigg, 1880, 455–456; Francis, 1908, 167; Price, 1908, 23; Hockings, 1973, 867. According to Metz, 1864, 5, Sullivan came to the Nilgiris 'at the solicitation of the hill-people themselves'. Sullivan, in a letter to the Board of Revenue in 1819, explained that 'the inhabitants are extremely anxious to have their lands measured, under an idea that they are paying more than they ought to do'; Grigg, 1880, 280. Another early influence on Badaga farming may have been the experimental farm for European crops operating at Ke:ti from 1830 to

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1836; Metz, 1864, 6–7; Grigg, 1880, 456–458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 203, 441.

3. Metz, 1864, 8–9; an anna was 1/16 rupee, worth just under one U.S. cent today.

4. Grigg, 1880, 288, quoting from a report of December 1827; yet Harkness, 1832, 111, remarked that 'The poorer Burghers form the only class of labourers now to be procured on the hills . . .'

5. B.E.M.S., 1848, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 510–511; Watt, 1889, 465; Francis, 1908, 171, 178; Tanna, 1970, 17, 37. Tea was first grown here experimentally in 1835 from Chinese seeds, and coffee in 1838; Macleane, 1893, 403.

6. Baikie, 1857, 38, 92; Markham, 1862, 367; Metz, 1864, 99, 152–154; Ouchterlony, 1848, 2, 5, 28; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 71; Grigg, 1880, 465–467. The more important items in the list are identified botanically above, p. 146, n. 7.

7. Transferred back to Coimbatore District from Malabar in 1860; Grigg, 1880, 309, 322–323; Macleane, 1893, 216; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 78–79.

8. Grigg, 1880, 316, 321. On the shortcomings of their agriculture in this period, see Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 31–36; Grigg, 1880, 480; 'Geofry', 1881, 132–135.

9. Grigg, 1880, 325. The Settlement of land holdings took place in 1864–1884; Grigg, 1880, 321–323.

10. B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; McPherson, 1870, 15, 18, 21; Grigg, 1880, 34, 219–220. Tea-pickers were usually lowland labourers, for Badaga women were then afraid of being near jungle even when in gangs.

11. A few ploughs are still in use near the Si:gu:ru Pass; other villages preserve old ploughs to venerate at an annual ceremony; but in general ploughs went out of use fifty years ago; Ranga, 1934, 8.

12. Francis, 1908, 165–166; Ranga, 1934, 11–14. The lands are called respectively *ha:likola*, *ka:duhola* and *so:lahola*; see Plate 1.

13. Grigg, 1880, 13, citing Ouchterlony, 1848, 14; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 14. It may be illuminating to cite an example of one administrative 'village'—Ke:ti Village—which reflects how much of the plateau land was formerly owned by Badagas. The available figures come from the 1881 land settlement records and show how 3235 hectares of this particular 'village' (actually a grouping of nearly two dozen villages) were distributed in the last years before the widespread adoption there of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	2,083 ha.
Badaga grazing ground	204 ha.
Toda grazing lands	51 ha.
Village sites (mainly Badaga)	90 ha.
Government forest areas	123 ha.
Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	307 ha.
Plantations (mainly British-owned)	175 ha.
Government cinchona plantation	2 ha.
Available for sale	200 ha.

(Source: Benson, 1881, 188–189)

From these data it is clear that this area, by no means an atypical one, was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 200 h.a. 'for sale' is somewhat misleading; it

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8

Administration and Law

CUSTOMARY LAW

627 Until the end of the last century the Indian Penal Code and the British system of local administration had little relevance to Badagas. They had their own uncodified law and their own headmen and councils to administer it.

101 Three periods are distinguishable in their legal history: one prior to the advent of the British when something akin to *lex talionis* was operative; a second period when Badagas still had full control of their legal procedure but operated it under the aegis of the British; and a third period, from about 1900 to the present, when litigants played off the Badaga system against the magistrate's court in an attempt to win cases through obscuration.

174 There are no records for the phase of *lex talionis*, but a rough account of the procedure is provided by legend. A village council sat in judgment and stipulated a time and place for punishment of the guilty. The man who had assaulted someone was to be kicked or beaten by him, the rapist had to offer his wife to the aggrieved husband, and the murderer was hanged by the family of his victim.

● 175 By the start of the nineteenth century this pattern had given way to one that is with some modification still in effect today. It originated before coinage was circulating in the Nilgiris, for the earliest fines, as among the Todas, were paid in buffaloes and not rupees. Although there are no written records the procedure can be described in detail because of its recency.

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9

A Period of Stress

Badaga social history since 1812 is recorded in sufficient detail for us to delimit confidently an especially stressful period in the last century and examine its relationship to the formation of factions and religious revitalization movements. We shall attempt to answer three questions: (1) What steps did Badagas take, in the face of stress-producing situations, to bring their society back to the previously existing stability? (2) Did these steps amount to what A.F.C. Wallace (1956, *passim;* 1966, 158–163) has called revitalization—a cult movement which reinvigorates, as it were, the society that has undergone too much stress? (3) If so, what new institutions arose from this cult behaviour, or if not, why did revitalization fail to occur?

The published sources portray some disaster confronting sections of the Badaga community almost yearly from 1845 to 1906—a period of unusual stress which threw more difficulties in the path of the Badagas than at any time since records began.

A succinct chronology of this time of troubles is presented below. Items concerning missionary endeavour have been included because their ideas were seen by the Badagas as strange and often upsetting, and proved to be a serious threat to the integrity of the Badaga community. It will be noticed that matters which can be viewed as the 'causes' as well as others which are clearly the 'effects' of stress, or its manifestations, have been included.

1845 Four Germans from the Basel Mission began preaching in

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many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:te:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Sulligu:du. Some smallpox prevalent.

1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for baptism but died before this could occur. Government prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this year until 1887 government continuously planting further tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kaṉakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at that time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Edapalli tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '... pledged themselves to their goddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat segment of the community. Many Badagas argue that as people from even the lowest castes could be converted to Virashaivism (though they seldom are) there is a danger that the girls brought from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For upwardly mobile Badagas that is no easy pill to swallow.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND RESIDENCE

Since 1890 small minorities in nearly all phratries have contracted marriages beyond the boundaries of the community. A few Wodeas, Kaṇakkas and Adikiris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore, generally from Mysore City itself. The Be:das and Kumba:ras have sought brides from the Be:da and Kumba:ra castes of the plains, too. With improved transportation and literacy such marriages have become possible; and the Lingayat cases reflect a move towards closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Gauda boy and a Badaga Christian girl, provided that the girl's ancestry traced back to a clan other than the boy's. Such unions, which would earlier have been unthinkable, now occur among the more progressive who have had a college education.

These shifting patterns of alliance have altered the phratry system but little, though changing criteria in marriage arrangements have had a profound impact. The appearance of dowry-like transactions in a society which previously expected only a type of bridewealth is the most portentous of a whole complex of changing criteria. Before the wedding the boy's family always pays the *honnu* to the girl's family; *honnu* thus has the appearance of a bride-price, but this is not a good English translation of the term. It is money to be spent on the gold ornaments that bedeck the bride when she leaves her home to join her husband and without which the marriage would not be performed. By providing the cost of the ornaments the groom's family ensures that the ceremony will proceed. If a divorce later occurs the wife must return the ornaments or their cost, together with any other gifts of clothing or jewellery that her husband may have made (Harkness, 1832, 116 117; Metz, 1864, 86 87; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 105–106; Tignous, 1911, 119). With rising gold prices the *honnu* has also increased steadily. Early in the last century it was generally '15 to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[3] early in this century it was about Rs. 100; in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Summary and Conclusion

[115] The Badagas migrated to the Nilgiris from southern Mysore in small bands between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Some came out of fear of the Moslems, some because of famine and some were brought to the plateau by the chieftains of Ummattu:r. They cleared land, scattered their hamlets across the rolling hills and took to a mixed farming economy that was augmented by some hunting and swidden cultivation. What they needed but did not themselves produce was either obtained from the neighbouring Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Chettis or was bought in market towns near the foot of the Nilgiris, usually by bartering homegrown millets.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century coinage hardly circulated on the plateau; for the most part it only changed hands during family ceremonies. The levying of tribute under the rule of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, and the subsequent demand for land revenue at the British outpost of Dannaika Ko:te, put some pressure on Badaga farmers to sell more in the lowland markets in order to get sufficient coinage to pay their assessments. At about this time, if not before, some differentiation based on wealth was apparent within the community: certain men, descended from the village founders, became more affluent and were treated as gentry, while at the other extreme were people so poverty-stricken that they had to contract their children into servitude with well-to-do families.

[117] Though the British had acquired the Nilgiri Plateau by the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799, they were slow to appreciate their prize. It was only after twenty years and several preliminary explorations that a British official, John Sullivan, had serious thoughts of settling on the plateau. In this he was prompted by his own romantic inclinations after hearing the reports of others and making a tour of the area himself; but he was also invited to come there by the Badagas, as they wanted someone to survey their lands and determine if they were being assessed for too much revenue.[1]

As soon as Sullivan had taken up residence in what later became Kotagiri he began experimenting with several European crops, also giving seeds to some interested Badagas. Even after his arrival, while the new township of Ootacamund was becoming established, the British continued for a decade to collect the land revenue in the plains. They had adopted a policy of fixing grain prices, which gave some encouragement to the Badagas who sold their grain surplus in the lowland towns; and this indirectly fostered the practice of storing credit gained there by selling the food-grains for coinage.

After 1823 roads were developed and a market established at Ootacamund. Thereafter the Badaga economy became monetized, with Ootacamund as the new centre for their trade. By 1840 they were making most of their bazaar purchases with coinage.

The first estimate of the Badaga population (in 1812) was only 2207, and by 1821—perhaps a better census—it had reached 3778. The British population increased rapidly too, offering Badagas who lived near the towns an opportunity to labour for a cash wage or to grow European vegetables for the market that was suddenly on their doorstep. While their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was well suited to the new crops, and the Nilgiri climate by chance blessed their endeavours, learning to compete in a labour market was another matter: it was only because some feared the government might otherwise increase the land tax out of revenge that Badagas let themselves be persuaded to work for Europeans.

The early British influences on Badaga culture were thus the introduction of a local market, a cash economy and a demand for labour and vegetables. But this was enough to trigger a rise in the fortunes of the community and also to prompt a remarkable increase in the size of the Badaga population. Another significant British novelty was education. Within a year of Sullivan's arrival a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 177 school had been opened in De:na:du: yet it was only after 1856 that Badagas perceived some value in schooling. This value lay in Tamil literacy, which was slowly becoming the one sure passport to such coveted official positions as *karnam* and *manegar*.

177 178 During the 1860s and 1870s legislation put an end to shifting cultivation, cutting timber in the jungle and paying a light tax on undemarcated land holdings. No longer was there land available for everyone to clear and farm: those who could not pay the government land-tax became tenant small-holders, landless labourers or plantation workers. These successive blows to the customary farming practice, following hard upon the first Christian conversion (1858), fostered a half-century of mistrust of Europeans which the numerous epidemics, droughts, conversions, temple rebuildings and surveys of field ownership did nothing to dispel. Over this period land erosion became a serious problem, fields were inadequately manured and rarely terraced, much Badaga land was sold to European planters, and indebtedness became widespread. Only some villages near the towns achieved a measure of prosperity. Jakkatala, a prime case, sold much of its land to the government for the Wellington Barracks and then profitted further from contracts for gangs of labourers to build the barracks and some other public structures. By the turn of the century a few families had become very wealthy as contractors, some of them in building the railway to Ootacamund.

178 311 [61] At the start of the twentieth century the Badaga population had climbed to 34,000 (having increased fifteen-fold in the preceding century), and the density of the rural labour force had also increased appreciably through continued immigration. Alongside this growth Grigg (1880, 321) had observed: '. . . each year has the area of cultivation and permanent occupation been extending with the growth in numbers of the hill-tribes [Badagas], the increase of wealth among them, and the great extension of plantations.'[2]

178 241 Although tea, coffee and potato had been grown in the district for over half a century, it was only with the onset of World War I and the completion of the Nilgiri railway that Badagas shifted the emphasis in their farming from millets to potato and in the 1920s to tea as well. This made many of them cash-crop farmers, since they did not eat much potato and had to buy their food-grains in the bazaar. Their initial interest in tea cultivation was merely as a 'method of increasing the value of land before selling it to European planters.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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chance events or 'historical accidents'. Because the combination of all these conditions will vary from one region to another, the manner of the economic transition will also vary. We should therefore not expect a replication of the successive phases of the Badagas' development elsewhere in India, even though such people as the Coorgs may suggest a superficial parallel (see Muthanna, 1953, *passim*; Srinivas, 1965, *passim*).

The Badagas' transition to a cash economy depended in part on very favourable ecological conditions. Their land and the climate were well suited to the new crops, and for some decades it was even possible to extend the area of cultivation. A protectionist government fixed grain prices, provided roads and encouraged railway construction and even supplied Badagas with technical information and improved seeds. No external pressure was placed upon them to make the transition; yet some of the more affluent farmers living near towns took the chance with initial crops of marketable vegetables or grain to sell to the two breweries. Their decision found some reward and incentive in the profits from the local market; and with the advent of the railway and the First World War this expanded dramatically. Once some success in the market had brought these profits into the community, reinvestment and spending took a variety of forms. The Badaga economy became increasingly differentiated, there was considerable variation in wealth from one family to another, a class structure based on affluence began to emerge and most families sought to maximize their gains, even at the expense of their customary relations with the neighbouring tribes.

Though the details of their history are unique, there are some regularities that tie the Badaga case in with others; in particular, the modern stress on education, the desire for non-essential consumer goods, reinvestment of profits in land (Epstein, 1962, 326–328), the role of mass media in popularizing urban tastes (Rao, 1966), the replacement of traditional co-operative associations by market relations and co-operative societies, and the periodic restructuring of society through factional disputes.

NOTES

1. A survey was actually made in 1820; see above, p. 166, n. 2, and Hockings 1973, 869.
2. So also the Sanitary Commissioner, Dr. Cornish: 'I have no doubt the native

APPENDIX 2

Badaga Population Growth Compared with that of Todas and Kotas

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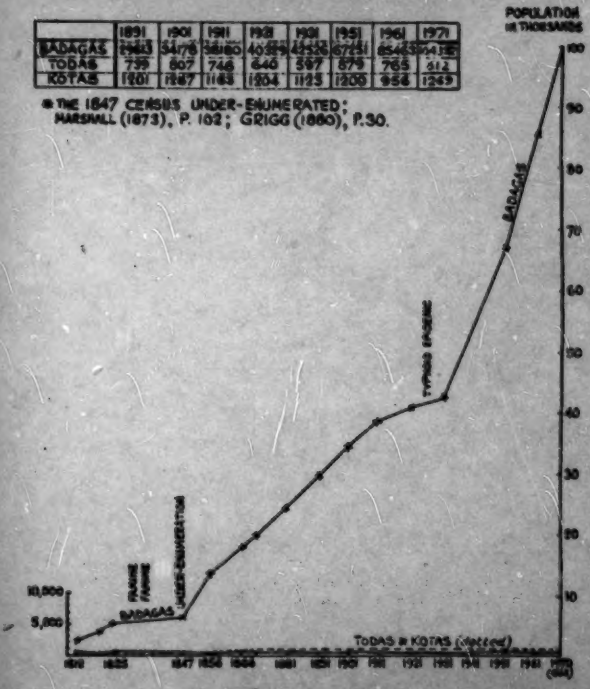
	1812	1821	1825	1847*	1856	1866	1871	1881
BADAGAS	2207	3778	5147	6569	13352	17778	19476	24398
TODAS	179	222	326	337	316	704	693	689
KOTAS	130	317		307	484	802	1112	1087

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
BADAGAS	29613	34178	38180	40329	42526	67251	85463	104332
TODAS	739	807	746	640	597	879	765	612
KOTAS	1201	1267	1163	1204	1125	1200	956	1269

* THE 1847 CENSUS UNDER-ENUMERATED; MARSHALL (1873), P. 102; GRIGG (1880), P.30.



[p. 249] [p.250 is blank]

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[5] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu*, is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity, and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of
783 ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be
• 115 purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
437 ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted
439 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs
783 would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony. Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and brings it home without special ritual precautions.

High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
231 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it
778 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not
783 bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored
783 there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder-
796 ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom
(824) of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
(412) around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a special basket kept only for this purpose.

It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the
783 man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual relations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony, when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton and without any other bedding.

(356) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *"uppu kuk'ke,"* "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

*of a sociologist, is that—unlike most communities on the subcontinent—the Badagas can be categorized neither as tribe nor as caste. To be precise, they are refugees drawn from several castes in southern Mysore centuries ago, who then consolidated themselves into a community on the Nilgiri Massif and to some extent may have then emulated the social organization of the neighbouring Toda tribe (Hockings 1979a).

The very name *Badaga* means "northerner" in their language, and was clearly applied to them only after they had fled from the plains immediately to the north of the Nilgiris. The reason for this flight is made quite clear in their legends: in A.D. 1565 the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed by Muslims invading from the north. The ancestral Badagas, fearing for the safety of their womenfolk, fled to the Nilgiris and adopted a tribal type of dress for both sexes. In 1603 a certain Father Finicio, the first European visitor, encountered them on this plateau. He described them (in Portuguese) as as Badegas, and gave the impression that they then numbered 500 to 1,000 people and inhabited no more than three villages (Finicio 1603). Already they had quite a varied mixed-farming economy. The most remarkable accomplishment of the Badagas has been the consummate success with which the community has adapted to and multiplied in surroundings that were initially wild and strange for them, and which lay at an elevation 3,000 to 5,000 feet higher than did their ancestral villages on the Mysore Plain. Their agricultural success has been partly due to their adoption of foreign techniques. Typically European crops are commonly grown today on terraces made with the help of machines. The fields are nourished with artificial fertilizers and the harvest is transported in lorries. These improved techniques have led to a better standard of living and a tendency for fathers to provide their sons with the education that they missed themselves. In the four main towns of the Massif there is now a sizeable Badaga middle class, and many of the men are doctors, lawyers, teachers, or government officials. Although still largely a rural people, speaking a distinct but unwritten Dravidian language, Badagas now have an unusually high rate of literacy in both Tamil and English.

Previous Studies

1.3. It is possible to show in considerable detail how the Badaga

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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241 318 (134) (137) shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare; hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Todas) is to be seen. (Francis 1908: 3-4)

121 Let us then see how, against this backdrop, several hundred Badaga therapists have over the centuries developed a unique medical adaptation to a unique tropical montane environment.

Badaga Medical History

1.5. The history of health care among the Badagas is entirely speculative. Nonetheless the history of the community itself is clear enough, and on this framework (Hockings 1979a) we can at least postulate three phases in the development of Badaga therapy (1.5-1.8). This sketch may later prove inadequate, for it is largely guesswork, but heuristically necessary for our understanding of problems connected with the elaboration of a specifically Badaga montane curative system from its roots in a very different equatorial environment at a much lower elevation.

•175 (166) The first phase began after the year 1565 with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was this political act and the associated Muslim invasion that impelled the initial Badaga refugees to leave the plains of Mysore District and settle on the much higher Nilgiri Massif immediately to the south. These people were a mere fortuitous selection of one or two hundred from those who made up the vast genetic pools of the Mysore castes; but after settling on the hills their patterns of intermarriage were such that they became more like another isolate. Despite a preference for endogamy, though, their pool was repeatedly augmented by the arrival of occasional new settlers from the Mysore Plains who were accepted into the growing Badaga community.

175 143

175 614 756 A century or so after these first settlers arrived, some refugees forming the Kaṇakka clan also came to the Nilgiris. Their special importance lay in the fact that until the mid-nineteenth century the Kaṇakkas were the only Badagas who were somewhat literate. As

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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one aspect of their presumed "familiarity with learning," if we may call it that, they gained a reputation as exorcists and curers. Today some among the couple of thousand Kaṇakkas still practise these crafts, although they no longer hold a monopoly among the Badagas. (My chief medical informant, K. Sithamma, was born in a Kaṇakka family in 1891.)

1.6. During the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the Badaga community increased from a reported three villages in 1603 to nearly 370 villages a century ago. This expansion, marking the second phase, encompassed some developments of importance to the history of Badaga therapy. The community was faced with the problem of adapting to a new geographic and social environment, and clearly succeeded in doing so. We may presume that natural selection helped the population build up a genetic resistance to whatever montane illnesses had not previously affected the people when they were living in Mysore; and that some lowland disease organisms were no longer able to survive at the new elevation, either because it was too high and cold for their animal hosts, or else because the hosts among the scattered and tiny human population died off without transferring these organisms to new hosts, or more probably because when the density of population was very low infection by particular diseases summoned forth antibodies or other disease-resistant aptitudes, which protected their descendants from any further infection by those diseases. As the settlements expanded the increasing numbers of people permitted greater transference of disease organisms and called for greater amounts of health care; but at the same time these settlements, located in most parts of the Nilgiri Massif within a zone that lay between 4000 and 7300 feet of elevation, gave people opportunities to select the more healthy residential sites, to explore the micro-environmental differences in the area, and most importantly to discover medicinal uses for dozens of new species of plants that were in many instances confined to the Massif (see Trilingual Index). We may presume that the pharmacological uses of local plants were discovered by Badaga women who worked as goatherds and men working as cowherds, by closely observing the feeding habits of their animals. Geza Roheim has made a similar observation on the control that Australian Aboriginal women have over the medicinal use of plants which they are responsible for gathering. While it is true that Badagas did not keep

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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goats recently, they did so during the seventeenth century and even later (Finicio 1603: 723; Birch 1838:103).

1.7. After contact with the British a new adjustment with their changed environment was achieved by the Badagas, and their population was able to increase rapidly for several decades while there was still a very low density of population. One relevant factor, I would hypothesize, was that a change in their drinking habits followed the arrival of the British (from 1819 onward), and that this was associated with greater resistance to bacteria in the drinking water. The main drinks of the community at the time were fresh milk and stream water: "...at midday, or towards evening, parties of them are often to be seen seated on the bank of some brook or rill, partaking of their simple fare, which generally consists of barley or other meal, mixed up with some of the pure element that is gurgling past them, a little salt, and a little chilly" (Harkness 1832: 111; so also Young 1827: 42, Birch 1838:103, and Dulles 1835: 465-66). Two British officials, one a surgeon, make it clear that until the 1830s the Badagas had no alcohol, and "drunkenness is unknown here" (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ainslie 1834: 36). But the surgeon had already in 1829 recorded that he had "tasted very tolerable specimens of beer which had been brewed on these hills from malt of Native Manufacture" (Price 1908: 218). Within another two decades a staggering change had come about:

> Lord Tweeddale...in 1847,...stated that he had never anywhere seen such widespread and continuous drunkenness amongst low-class natives as prevailed there [the Nilgiri town of Ootacamund], not only in the case of those resident, but also in that of peons, followers, and servants, brought up from Madras and other places. The drink at this time available was...arrack, which ...was not very expensive. (Price 1908: 51)

This drunkenness was more of an urban than a rural phenomenon, although some Badagas did go to the town to indulge themselves. Meanwhile, at the same time that beer and arrack were becoming available, so were tea and coffee. These hot drinks were generally preferred by the Badagas to stream water, because of the cool climate, even though they had a religious tabu against heating milk (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247). In this latter regard, I was told that if one keeps milk in a warm place it will "boil up" of its own accord

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

after a few hours. This seemingly trivial belief had a hygienic importance, for it meant that fresh milk would be used quickly and not kept, lest the tabu about boiling be violated. If milk were allowed to "boil up" (i.e., curdle) *of its own accord*, this was taken as an omen of imminent danger or death for the household, and thus a very serious matter indeed.

The effect upon Badaga health of the changes in drinking habits outlined above was reinforced by other cultural practices, specifically in regard to buffalo dung and spitting. Various maps of Badaga villages made in the first half of the nineteenth century show that several stone kraals were located just outside each village. This means that the fecal matter of buffalo herds was confined to a certain place; (I have myself seen dung over a foot deep in some kraals). Unsavoury though these places must have been, they ensured that the dung was not spread throughout the habitation area of each village, and this substantially reduced "the chance of transference of enzootic and epizootic diseases to man" (Alland 1970: 56). As the value of farmland for tea and potato cultivation grew, especially during the present century, the Badaga population increased dramatically but the size of the cattle herds dwindled. The present-day situation is therefore that Badaga population density is vastly higher than it was, but the risks of cattle-borne infection are proportionately much less because the lack of grazing has forced them to make heavy reductions in the size of their herds and abandon many of the kraals.

As we shall see below (2.11), indiscriminate spitting was not allowed in and near the home or temple. Spittoons were used inside the house; and a proverb stressed that, "If you ask for an obligation it is essential to see the right people: it is essential to spit in the proper place." With this attitude prevalent, the spread of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of pubic hair described below (2.9, 2.13) have also contributed to health by restricting the incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases (Alland 1970: 58). In nearly all villages the houses are built in parallel lines with solid stone or brick walls partitioning each house from its neighbours. In Ke:ti, a typical village in this respect, it was found that on the average each row of houses was separated from those in front and behind it by a distance of 10 meters, which was mostly the span of the courtyards. This relative lack of crowding of living space has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

also contributed to a reduction in the spread of viruses, particularly as the cattle are generally kept away from these courtyards fronting the houses.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population ever since the advent of the British (Diagram 1).

At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas (2.1, Table 2; Hockings 1973: 867). The variety of their diet was thus greatly improved. Also the earlier habit of eating a midday meal, often in open air (Harkness 1832: 111), tended to cease as more and more Badaga adults began working for an hourly or daily wage on the plantations and construction projects initiated by the British, and as increasing numbers of children spent the day in school. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it thus became usual for Badagas to consume only two meals a day, generally in their own homes, one at sunrise and the other in the evening. The importance of this practice from a hygienic viewpoint was that, because flies are normally active only during daytime, "eating at night or in the early morning may protect food from fly-borne contamination" (Alland 1970: 59). Any change of diet or of custom that tended to reduce the human intake of bacterial organisms was reflected in the greatly increased life expectancy during the past century and a half.

1.8. By the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries successful exploration of the botanical realm and this steadily increasing Badaga population had, through a process of interaction and by individual experiments, observations of animal browsing, or other acts of discovery about which we can know nothing, developed the third phase in their medical history — the full-fledged therapeutic system described in this book. As an increasingly heavy work-load was

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

261 by Badaga infants. One would certainly expect pregnant women and
146 plantation labourers to be the people suffering most from mineral deficiencies in their diet. One clay sample from Ootacamund, of
(134) the kind that Badagas eat, had the following chemical components
(135) (Hooper and Mann 1906: 262):

Loss on ignition—	9.63%
(including nitrogen)	0.23%
Silica	71.66%
Feric oxide	2.71%
Alumina	4.94%
Lime	5.78%
Magnesia	1.54%
Potash	0.88%
Soda	1.01%
Sulphuric acid	0.06%
Phosphoric anhydride	1.79%

261 *Gopi* mud was a clay that used to be mixed with water and left to stand in the house. Later the water developed a salty taste and would be used in cooking (Belli Gowder 1923-41: 2).

Liquor

273 2.5. There is no doubt that the British introduced the Badagas to
(177) the demon drink, for their earliest reports on the community make it clear that "Liquors of an intoxicating quality are never distilled on the hills nor drunk by any of the castes" (Macpherson 1820: lix; cf. Ainslie 1834: 36). Yet by 1829 local Englishmen had brewed
(175) beer "from malt of Native Manufacture" (Price 1908: 218). By 1847, as we have already mentioned, Ootacamund had become a centre of "widespread and continuous drunkenness amongst low-class natives" (Price 1908: 51). For nearly a century following that date there are occasional complaints in the literature about the drunkenness of Badagas. Even today it is usually possible to see one or two drunken men in any village in the later afternoon, particularly on festival days.

The local liquor industry has fluctuated with repeated attempts to enforce prohibition, both before and after Independence. At the present time prohibition is once again the law. The women rarely

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC SETTING

The Terrain

131 The Nilgiri Hills, once also known as the Blue Mountains, are a plateau some 600 square miles in area, situated in Southern India at the juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnatak, Malabar and Tamilnād; or of 631 modern Mysore, Kerala and Madras States. Today the Nilgiris form one small 101 administrative District of Madras State. They are the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays many other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the altitude range of 6000-8000 feet, and one peak (among the highest in peninsular India) reaches 8640 feet. In contrast with this the western quarter of the District averages around 3000 feet in altitude, and 128 forms a part of the Wynaad Plateau. In this study I use the term Nilgiris in its geographical sense rather than its political one, thereby excluding the Wynaad when I speak of the Nilgiris.

133 The slopes of the Nilgiri Plateau fall away very steeply, and on the eastern 137 edge actually drop some 6000 feet in a distance of less than two miles. The slopes 136 have always been covered by a dense subtropical jungle which harbors tigers, leopards, wild buffaloes, elephants, snakes, malarial mosquitoes, and (formerly 115 dangerous) hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the

175 British early in the 19th Century, therefore, the three communities — Badagas, Todas and Kotas — who inhabited the summits of these hills were extremely isolated, and nobody had ever made an effective military conquest of their homeland. With much trepidation a party of the tribal people would venture down to the plains once a year on a trading expedition; but despite this they believed that they were inhabiting a world a little more than a hundred miles square — and so far as their external social contacts were concerned this was quite true.

132 The undulating, unevenly wooded downland which makes up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. The western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July-August; whereas the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December.

The average mean daily temperature in the center of the plateau is around 60°F, while in the Wynaad it is much hotter (and also much wetter). For equability of temperature and for its mildly invigorating qualities the plateau is therefore scarcely rivaled anywhere in the tropics; whereas the Wynaad becomes severely hot in summer, is much less healthy, and is prey to a virulent type of malaria (Arputhanathan 1953: 1-3).

175 177 From the year 1820 the British residents began to take advantage of this healthful setting, and so the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the District headquarters), as well as the military cantonment of Wellington, gradually took shape and grew. More recently the town of Gudalur has grown up in the 631 Wynaad, at the foot of the escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative regions or talaks into which the

631 District has been divided.

The Inhabitants of the Nilgiris

000 An inscription at Chamrajnagar (near Mysore), dated to 1117 A.D., claims that a Hoysala minister entered the Nilgiris and "frightened the Todas" (Derrett 1957: 47). In 1124 another petty ruler attacked Kulkala, which is perhaps a Kota settlement (kilkil in the Kota language) on the Nilgiri Plateau (Derrett 1957: 60). These two dates provide a terminus ante quem for the settlement of the Toda and perhaps the Kota tribes on the hills.

• 175 177 In 1602 or 1603 a Portuguese priest visited the plateau -- the first European known to have done so -- and reported in a letter to his superior on his encounters with the Todas and Badagas (Fenicio 1603). And although the jungle tribes of Kurumbas and Irulas are not mentioned in any source prior to Buchanan's report of 1807, there is no ethno-historical reason to suppose that they have not also been in the Nilgiris for at least as long as the Badagas.

174

The whole question of the origins of these tribes is undemonstrable archaeologically and quite irrelevant to this study. There is however very strong evidence to support the common belief that the Badagas were not originally a tribe at all (in the popular usage of that word), but rather were descendants of various wanderers or refugees from the old kingdom of Mysore who settled down in the Nilgiris during the period 1400-1800, and were thereby obliged through social pressures to behave like a tribe amongst tribes. The nature of this "tribalization" process will be discussed in the following chapter. Both their origin in Mysore and their complex contacts with the indigenous Nilgiri tribes 197 have molded Badaga culture and social organization markedly. The Badagas still speak a dialect of the Kannada language; whereas the Todas and Kotas each have

their own Dravidian language, and the Irulas and Kurumbas speak what are recognizable as dialects of Tamil.

From the year 1820 the British began to settle on the plateau (Ward 1821: lxii), bringing with them a motley train of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other dependents, including a few half-breeds. With this contact much of Southern India began to learn about the strange people, hardly Hindus, who inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to find laboring jobs in the tea and coffee plantations that were started there from the 1830's onward; and in the process of taking up this new occupation they brought the Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and practices of South Indian village Hinduism. Today the plantations are the major source of the District income, and attract an ever-increasing number of migrant laborers from various parts of Southern India.

In the 1951 Census the most populous communities in the District, distinguished on a language basis, were the following:

Indigenous Plateau Groups:

Badagas	67,251
Irulas, Kurumbas, etc.	1,786
Todas (including Christian Todas)	879
Total:	69,916

Immigrant Groups:

Tamilians	119,045
Malayalis	41,461
Kanarese	40,241
Telugus	26,469
Total:	227,216

(Source -- Arputhanathan 1953: 60)

For some unexplained reason the 1300-odd Kotas are not listed at all; presumably they were included in the Badaga total (since they probably spoke Badagu to the census-takers).

In 1951 the total population of the District numbered 311,729; and by 1961 it had risen to 409,308 -- a massive increase of 32% in a decade, attributable to the high rate of local immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths.

In summary, therefore, while the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas are all tiny communities when compared with the numbers of Badagas, the Badagas in turn are now greatly outnumbered by settlers who have recently arrived from all parts of the Southern Indian plains.

The Badagas

Until the recent influx of these laborers, the Badagas were the preponderant community in the Nilgiris. Today they number a little under 100,000, and occupy nearly 400 hamlets dotted across the District.

The word Badaga (more correctly Baḍaga) means "Northerner" in their dialect of the Kannada language, and was presumably first used as a name for them when they became an immigrant community among the tribal groups already established in the Nilgiri Hills. Their origin is clearly traceable to the plains of Southern Mysore, which lie just to the north of the Nilgiris. Badaga traditions indicate that they arrived as small parties of refugees over a period of several hundred years. Because some of the earliest of these settlers were of the Lingayat faith when they arrived it is only reasonable to suppose that they left Mysore after the founding of the Lingayat sect ca. 1160 A.D. That there were a few Badaga villages in the hills by the year 1602 is known from the account of the Nilgiris sent to his superior by Father Fenicio (Fenicio 1603). But as many Badagas still speak about their ancestors having fled from the terrors of Tippu Sultan's reign in Mysore (1786-1799), there is also good ground for supposing that the last of the Badaga migrants did not reach the Nilgiris until the end of the 18th Century

(Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Macpherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we can say that the Badagas were Kannarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 331; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1964: 153-54). Since 1957 a series of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

615 Nobody, on the other hand, disputes with the Toreyas for the lowest position in the hierarchy of Hindu Badagas; not even the Kotas have attempted this --- and they are lower still.

121 It is a characteristic of jati hierarchies in almost every part of India that there are differences of opinion about the exact ranking of any particular jati. A cursory view of the welter of data available for different regions of India also strongly suggests that there is perhaps more widespread agreement in any community about the rank of the jatis that are highest or lowest in a local hierarchy than about the exact position of all or some of those in intermediate positions. It is a statement that is also true in broad outline for the Badagas; but it does not really explain anything. The similarity of the grosser features of the Badaga hierarchy --- such as it is --- to hierarchies found in most Hindu villages in no way helps clarify the complexity of what among Badagas corresponds to the "middle jatis" in those Hindu (614) villages. For the sibs inferior to Wodeyas and superior to Toreyas can in general intermarry either hypergamously or hypogamously: that is, sib ranking is formally irrelevant in the arrangement of marriages.

614 Two kinds of explanation can be offered for this feature. The less likely one is a historical explanation, for which there is some slight evidence. It is that the Badagas only thought of ranking their sibs into an all-Badaga hierarchy during the last century, after there had been some contact with laborers and Brahmins from villages in the plains. Such an argument would imply that the indigenous marriage system has been retained, but that a new ranking system for the various endogamous units was superimposed as one aspect of a process generally called • 175 Sanskritization (cf. Srinivas 1962). The earliest detailed accounts of the Badagas 614 make it clear, however, that even in the early part of the 19th Century there was

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 615 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru newspaper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas]; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 562 (554) sequence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is considerable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely
(561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are regarded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
562 602 582 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

614 Lingayats (although since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the lingam again).

574 614 Adikaris, like Kapakkas, admit Haruvas, Kaggusis, and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals; (Wodeyas refuse to eat with them, however); Gaudas and Toreyas may only eat in the outer room, and members of the other tribes are not allowed past the entrance door. Adikaris and Kapakkas eat only at the houses of Haruvas and Wodeyas, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes.

614 The Kapakkas, although now agriculturists like all other Badagas, once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg 1880: 221). Their name means "accountant", and is generally taken to indicate that some of their forefathers acted as village accountants when a ruler in the Coimbatore Plains, probably the East India Company, became powerful enough to demand the levy of taxes. Although the Kapakkas are Lingayats, and today have a status equal with that of the Adikaris, there are many Badagas who will whisper darkly that originally the Kapakkas were not Kanarese at all, but Tamilians. The Kapakkas themselves would not own to this, since experience with the Madras Government officials has led nearly all Badagas to despise the Tamilian but to be more charitably inclined toward the Mysoreans; still, it may well be true that the Kapakkas were Gaundans, an agricultural caste from the Coimbatore Plain, who were brought to the Nilgiris because they knew how to write (Grigg 1880: 221). My discovery of some 500 palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in two Kapakka hamlets lends support to this belief. These leaves were written two to four centuries ago in a script and language close to modern Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the exercises of tyro scribes. The leaves are now treasured as the sacred writings

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565 that it has a high status by all of the accepted criteria -- priority of settlement, wisdom, wealth, piety, and absolute size. The distinction between gentry and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all Badaga families can be allotted to the one category or the other by everyone who knows them. I estimate that during the present century roughly five percent of the community is considered as gentry. The great bulk of the community is non-gentry because its ancestors were not known to be the first settlers in any particular hamlet, or because they were only younger sons in the gentry families.

Until the middle of the 19th Century, the most prestigious gentry family
565 was the largest family possible. To achieve this ideal men would often have poly-
595 gynous marriages: in one case (probably a record number for all Badagas) a man had
(175) five wives simultaneously, during the early years of this century. In such families it is -- or was -- common for some of the wives to be several decades younger than the husband, in which case they might present him with sons of which he was
(178) probably aware that he was not the biological father. Today polygyny is no longer common; nevertheless I know of a gentry family where the husband is now 86 years old, and the youngest of his three wives is 19.

There was, during the latter part of the last century, a transitional phase
178 in the condition of the gentry, when neither the size of the family nor its wealth was
565 the important determinant of its status; its influence derived primarily from its "strength of character", I was told. This change seems to mark the beginning of a break-away from traditional values which, as we shall see, gained pace in the
565 years following 1913. In the present century all Badaga families, whether consi-
556 dered gentry or not, gain a prestige commensurate with their wealth. If a family is unusually wealthy it now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry

dozen of these are known, two of them antedating this century. These two will be discussed here; the others will be considered later when we examine recent social changes among the Badagas.

Apparently the first major faction, and certainly the most important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by the activities of Christian missionaries during the last century. From 1846, or possibly even earlier, a few missionaries had worked among the Badagas and Todas (Stokes 1882: 175). In 1857 Abraham Nerkamby became the first Badaga Christian (Eppler 1900: 153); and although this and all subsequent conversions until about 1904 were the objects of bitter resentment on the part of nearly all Badagas, the Badaga Christian community slowly swelled, and by 1904 ceased to be treated as a recalcitrant faction (Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-51). It instead became, in the eyes of other Badagas, a separate caste or community not to be considered as Badaga at all. Until that time, however, Christians received the usual treatment of an opposed faction: no intermarriage or interdining, little or no conversation, and occasional outbursts of violence or robbery (Eppler 1900: passim). The following case, one of many that have been recorded by the local missionaries, typifies the common situation.

> ... The two families of Titus and Benjamin, uncle and nephew, live together in a joint house at Chogatorre, some 30 or 40 paces behind the row of Badaga houses, and situated on their own land. [The two families are Badaga Christians.] Lakshma, a rich and influential inhabitant of the village... set himself to drive the two families away from their land and house. He began by seizing upon a piece of ground belonging to an orphan, a minor, and adjoining that of the Christians, and fenced it, so that the Christians were prevented from leaving their house, though for many years they had had the right of way on the edge of that property, and that right had been confirmed before witnesses before the father of the orphan before his death. As the Christians were thus prevented from coming to church and even from going to the nullah [creek] to fetch water, they were for a time in great distress... Nobody dared to assist them by bringing them water, not even at night for Lakshma had set a watch, and as most of the villagers were indebted to him, they were all afraid of him...

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In this and the chapter which follows we shall be concerned with the socio-cultural changes that have occurred in the period since 1913, (the year we have chosen as marking the break between the traditional and the monetary economy).

Agriculture

Until around 1860-65 the Badagas not only cultivated fields lying close to the hamlets, but also practiced shifting slash-and-burn cultivation in the wooded areas (Grigg 1880: 321). After the British land settlement of 1881-1884 this practice was completely stopped. By the year 1913 most Badaga households were cultivating their own land within a mile of their homes. The land was generally hilly and always unirrigated. The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream-water as because there was rich top-soil on those flats. Badagas recognized these differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant their crops and when dividing up the paternal inheritance. Soil distinctions were important, but distance from the hamlet could be yet more significant. Lands were therefore categorized by Badagas primarily as being close to the hamlet (within ¼ mile), distant from it, or in jungle clearings (Francis 1908: 168; Ranga 1934: 11-14). The first type of land received much of the cattle manure and all of the human refuse; the more distant land received little manure of any des-

241 has greatly improved, it is worth noting, because the state government has made loans available on relatively easy terms for the purpose of having field terraces constructed.

Because of terracing in many places, and widespread subdivision, fields are often so small that it would be markedly inefficient to plow them at any time (478) (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). For the past 25 years, therefore, the plow and oxen have ceased to be used in the Nilgiri Hills. Much of the (426) work-load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by the spades of cheap migrant laborers from the plains: men work for daily wages of Rs. 1.75, equivalent to about 35¢ U.S., and women for about 30¢.

While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per 426 acre than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much higher. 424 Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labor, but he may need cash to feed his family if disease ruins the crop for one (651) season. Here the cooperative societies set up by the state government have helped the Badagas greatly. Both short- and long-term loans are available, against land or house securities, for all members of the societies (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The societies have thus gone far in protecting Badagas from the high interest-rates of private money-lenders; some societies even help farmers by supplying seeds, fertilizers, and modern implements at cost prices.

Marketing

Traditionally the Badagas, Kotas and Todas occupied a very peripheral • 175 437 position in a market economy: before the British reached the Nilgiris annual trading expeditions to the market at Gundlupet, in Mysore, or to Erramadai, were the (437) source for the few requirements not otherwise available in the Hills. Such

requirements were mainly salt, sugar, tobacco and a few trinkets. Cloth might either be obtained at the market or would be brought up into the Nilgiri villages from the Coimbatore Plain by an itinerant Chetti trader (Ward 1821: lxv). The establishment of a bazaar in Ootacamund during the 1820's, and later of others in Coonoor, Wellington, Kotagiri, Kotti and Manjūr, made consumer goods available to the Badagas on a scale and in a variety never before known to them. The desire to acquire some of these new items was presumably one factor in the drive towards greater participation in the cash economy.

Yet the transition took a century to complete. All of the basic requirements for food, goods and services continued to be provided either by the efforts of the Badagas themselves or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. From the 1820's onwards the Badagas attended the local markets for what they had previously bought in Gundlupet or Kīranagal -- salt, sugar, tobacco and trinkets -- but they never sold very much in the markets, and so they rarely had much cash to spend. With the First World War, however, changes in their marketing practices became more apparent. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the many European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops that we have described above (pp. 94-99): Badagas began exporting potatoes and other vegetables to these remote places, and some made handsome profits (Francis 1908: 167).

The cash that came in from this new venture was spent in a great variety of ways. The most obvious was in buying new clothes: in the 1920's men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930's women first started to wear colored saris. A few of the more resourceful men invested their incomes in more land or houses, thus laying a stable foundation for future genera-

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) #989
AN50 Badaga AN50

178 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers,
463 and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963
463 had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of
[125] India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.0%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by
177 British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the
[175] early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very
[65] slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy
[177] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One
[24] was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

The Present "Ambi-legal" System in Badaga Villages

692 It will be recalled that in an earlier chapter which described the traditional social organization of the Badagas we spoke of a politico-juridical system which linked the Badagas closely to the Kotas, and provided for the settlement of disputes by a hierarchy of local councils (pp. 29-43). Today, while this system still remains in operation for "civil" cases, it is very common for Badagas also to make use of the official legal system of India in the settlement of disputes and [829] the punishment of crimes. Since the use of both systems is not seen by the villager as a clear matter of choice, but rather of trying to play one system off against the other so as to maximize his own advantages, we might characterize the present Badaga situation as being an "ambi-legal" one. Let us take as our point of departure for an analysis of this phenomenon the changing role of the Badaga headmen.

•175 692 [618] To understand the role of the village headman in local government one needs to know that after the British arrived in the Nilgiris (in 1820) they perpetuated village government through the previously existing hereditary headmen, and bestowed upon these men the title of <u>manegar</u>. The hierarchy of those headmen did not come into the British plan for local government, however: <u>manegars</u> were typically "village", and not hamlet or divisional headmen. From the end of the 632 [622] last century the headman role has been divided up; a <u>manegar</u> was appointed in major villages -- generally the chief hamlet of an indigenous "village" grouping -- by the British District Collector (Grigg 1880: 366); but the Badagas still selected their own hamlet headman (who then received the title of <u>sub-manegar</u> and continued to receive a small salary from the British administration). The <u>manegar</u> appointed was preferably a literate man rather than simply a prestigeful one; though

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50●
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60

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Kurumbas on southern Nilgiri slopes vary their house plans and do not construct any distinctive temples. Their economy in the early 1800s was very similar to the Irula's economy.

B
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After 1800 the English generated changes through their economic activities, legal actions, and introduction of exotic plants. As the English established and enlarged plantations, more Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas went to work on them. Increased job opportunities, not associated with plantations, were mainly taken advantage of by the Badagas. Legal actions between 1874 and 1884 ended Badaga and Kota poppy cultivation, drastically reduced Irula and Kurumba gathering and hunting, and ended shifting agriculture on unowned land. In this century upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas abandoned plows and became commercial potato farmers. Introduced plants became the garden plants of all agriculturists.

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Ku
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The post-1947 non-English Madras Government has built houses for Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, constructed or improved roads, and partially succeeded in rejuvenating Kota trades.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

172 humped cattle, buffaloes, sheep, dogs, and chickens were fashioned with clay. The funerary urns are sophisticated in design, and other buried pottery was often more elaborately made than the pottery presently used on the Nilgiris. Bronzeware from the stone circles varies greatly in shape and is in some instances intricately decorated. Iron objects found in Megalithic sites range from broad-bladed daggers, chopping knives, sickles, razors, long and short spear points, and arrow points, to small lamps (Breeks 1873: Plates XXXVI-XLIII). The artifactual evidence, therefore, indicates that Megalithic Cult members may have cleared forests for agriculture and to obtain wood for domestic necessities. Livestock were possibly grazed on annually burned grasslands derived from cleared lands and natural openings in the forest. In this connection it may be noted that many Megalithic sites are located on peaks within the northern grasslands and near valleys in which agriculture is presently continued.

Recent reforestation of the temperate grasslands. The question
137 as to whether or not upper Nilgiri grasslands may be reforested has been partly answered. It is certain that most of these grasslands could be rapidly covered by acacia and eucalyptus trees. Thousands of former grassland acres have already been planted with these trees, imported from Australia (Plate V, B and C). The clearest historic record of vegetational change through imported tree growth is offered
(175) by Ootacamund, the largest city in the Nilgiris. Eight views drawn or painted in the 1830s clearly reveal that the area was then covered by grassland and scattered sholas (Jervis 1834: illustration opposite

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

• 115 137 76; Baikie 1834: frontispiece, illustrations opposite 6 and 116; Barron 1837: first four paintings). Grasses covered most sections sloping down to Ootacamund Lake, and St. Stephen's Church was surrounded by grassland. Through funds made available by the Madras State Government, approximately 8,000 acacia and eucalyptus trees had been planted around Ootacamund before July, 1857 (Cleghorn 1861: 176). After his 1860 visit Sir Clements Markham (1862: 357) noted that "except to the N.W., the station is completely surrounded by grass-covered hills. Houses are scattered about under the shelter of the hills, with gardens and plantations of Eucalyptus and Acacia . . ., around them [the houses] . . . ." A photograph and a painting reveal that imported trees had become well established next to Ootacamund Lake by 1875, but grassy patches were still noticeable features on the landscape (Price 1908: illustration opposite 32; Murphy 1953: illustration opposite 196). Photographs taken in 1905 prove that Ootacamund had become a forested city (Price 1908: illustrations opposite 33, 73, and 159). Slopes next to the diminished lake and portions of the former lake area filled with earth were, with the exception of the racecourse, mostly covered with either trees or houses. On the mountain behind St. Stephen's Church many eucalyptus trees were growing, and tall cypresses grew in the churchyard.

137 (694)

Although hundreds of foreign plants now grow in Ootacamund, certain species predominate. Most common acacias are the green and silver wattles (Acacia decurrens Willd., A. dealbata F.V.M.), but black and golden wattles (A. mollissima Willd., A. pycnantha Benth.) are also raised. Cypresses flourish, the Monterey cypress (Cupressus macrocarpa Hartw.) being grown all over the city as an ornamental, a

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 433 [241]

and other cereals, and probably from their kitchen gardens obtained most produce which was bartered or sold. In the later part of the last century shifting slash-burn agriculture was legally abolished. During this century the Badagas and Kotas abandoned the use of plows and turned to commercial potato production. Economic differentiation between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that Kotas have been partially supported by basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. These supplementary activities of the Kotas, practiced to varying degrees by other Indian groups, are commonly associated with low social ranking.

Ko 433

1. The Badagas

B 961 [175] [311]

Occupance pattern. Most Badaga hamlets and villages are located above 6,000 feet and east of the grasslands inhabited mainly by Todas (Figure 2). Harkness' description of Hanjanad before 1832 indicates that the basic Badaga occupance pattern remains unchanged. There was cultivated land around the village, and cattle grazed on nearby grasslands. Houses aligned horizontally into two house-rows on a hill side had joined front porches facing the down slope. A flat courtyard before each house-row was used to hand-thresh and dry grain in the sun. Both courtyards were edged on the outside by low stone walls. At one end of the village there was a compacted circle on which cattle trod out grain, and at the other end there were several cattle enclosures (Harkness 1832: 36-37). Badaga farmers continue to live together in communities, and they cultivate nearby kitchen gardens plus near to distant dry fields (Plate X, A). Coffee, tea, and multilayer gardens

B [342]
B 243 [351] [360]
B 241 [361]

231 caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In
659 each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised
368 platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-
chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place.
512 Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or
streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to
968 faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy
walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities
491 have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these
363 roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few
494 Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station
493 wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with
•175 front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small
342 front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other
[350 darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made
(824) with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. How-
(333) ever, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch
1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor
342 (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined
house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room.
This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into
the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom
extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a
(354) kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

648 Thoraiyas to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male Thoraiyas continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. Thoraiya males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, or washermen, have further served the Badagas. For their services, Thoraiyas are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as Thoraiya weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters.

•175 241 Plants exploited by the Badagas. A representative list of plants grown by the Badagas in the early 1800s is obtained from the writings of Keys and Harkness (Table III). Millet species were apparently the main subsistence cereals, but it is worth noting that barley and wheat were also raised. Plants grown commercially at that

175 249 time were fenugreek (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.), garlic, mustard, and poppies (Harkness 1832: 138). Poppy juice, the source of salable opium, was extracted by women and children. Iron nails were used to scratch poppy capsules in the evenings, and gummy exudations were

175 276 collected on following mornings. Capsules thus scratched every four days eventually died. Opium slowly obtained in this fashion was eaten and not smoked. Seeds collected from dead capsules were sold after sun-drying, and by boiling remaining capsule shells in water a stupefying beverage was obtained (Francis 1908: 290-291; Metz 1864: 153;

439 (651) Ward 1821: lxiii). According to Metz (1864: 153), fenugreek was sold to low country merchants; men from Coimbatore bought large quantities of garlic and onions, which were carried down to the plains on bullocks; and mustard seed sale alone was said by the Badagas

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

TABLE III

PLANTS GROWN ON THE UPPER NILGIRIS PRIOR TO 1836

• 175
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Cultivated Plants Listed By Keys (1812: 11)

Black peas (Phaseolus mungo Roxb.?)
Garlic (Allium sativum L.)
Gaunji (Hordeum sp.)
Mustard (Brassica juncea Hk. & T.)
Poppy (Papaver somniferum L.)
Shaume (Panicum sumatrense Roth & Schult) - two varieties
Vemtheum (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.)
Wheat (Triticum sp.)

Harkness' List of Plants Grown By Badagas (1832: 136-137)

Barley (Hordeum sp.)
Garlic
Gourd (Lagenaria sp.)
Kirie (Amaranthus sp.)
Koralee (probably a variety of Setaria italica Beauv.)
Mochhie (Dolichos lablab L.)
Mustard
Onion (Allium cepa L.)
Poppy
Pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L.)
Rhehi (Eleusine coracana Gaertn.)
Shamie (Panicum sumatrense Roth & Schult)
Shanaugge (Ervum lens L.)
Tenaie (Setaria italica Beauv.)
Vatta kadolie (Cicer arietinum L.)
Varaku (Paspalum scrobiculatum L.)
Vendey (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.)
Wheat

Plants Introduced By The English (Baikie 1834: 35-36; Jervis 1834: 46; Mignon 1834: 83; Price 1908: 122; Hutchins 1883: 1; United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: xxxiii)

Artichoke	Kale	Savoy	Apple
Asparagus	Leek	Spinach	Nectarine
Beet	Lettuce	Tomato	Peach
Cabbage	Parsnip	Turnip	Plum
Carrot	Pea		
Cauliflower	Potato	Blackberry	Acacia
Celery	Pumpkin	Raspberry	Blue gum
Kidney bean	Radish	Strawberry	Tea

241 (311) (433) (439) of 20,600 acres in the main season and 2,400 acres in the lesser (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69; Krishnamurthi 1953: 193; Madras Department of Agriculture 1960-61: single page). The production of the 1960-61 potato crop was approximately 61,900 tons and 7,060 tons. Most potatoes are shipped to Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India via Mettupalaiyam city at the base of the Nilgiris (Figure 1).

•175 241 439 Despite increased potato production on dry fields and the eating of imported rice by Badagas, most early 1800 cereals continue to be cultivated on dry fields. Cereals raised mainly for home consumption also enter local markets. Produce from old commercial plants, excluding poppies, is still sold locally and on the plains. These plants are grown with "English" vegetables in kitchen gardens. Apart from potatoes, other "English" vegetables (Table III)--cabbages and carrots for example--are sometimes raised as dry field crops. Fruit trees originating from nectarine, peach, and plum plants introduced before 1836 (Table III) and Chinese pears introduced in 1846 (Price 1908: 125) are grown in Badaga orchards. Mandarin oranges grown in multilayer gardens are also of some commercial importance. Badagas have taken advantage of ready markets for fruit and "English" vegetables. Since completion of the railroad to Ootacamund in 1908, European and Indian families scattered over India have purchased, through agents, baskets of fruit and "English" vegetables sent out at periodic intervals from the Nilgiris. On market days produce from Badaga landholdings is displayed and sold in the Coonoor, Kotagiri, (245) Ootacamund, and smaller markets. A few Badagas use their kitchen gardens to grow introduced berries (Table III), and strawberries in

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

439 [245] particular are sold by vendors who wait near entrances into the main stores in Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Ootacamund.

Long after the introduction of tea before 1836 (Table III) and coffee in 1838 (Athrey 1953: 11), enterprising Badagas turned to coffee and tea planting. Ranga (1934: 19-21) recorded these facts concerning their earlier tea planting: During a single week in 1928 a European planter purchased 17,000 pounds of green tea leaf from Badagas. Between 1928 and 1930 Badagas in four communities increased their tea acreages to approximately 400 acres. By 1934 a Badaga woman managed a tea nursery, and a Kotagiri tea planter was purchasing all the tea leaf he could obtain from Badagas. In the 1960 Planting Directory over 100 Badagas are listed as coffee and tea growers. Their holdings range in size from six acres of tea to a tea garden with 190 acres of tea and a factory or from 15 acres of coffee to a garden with 158 acres of Arabica coffee and 59 acres of tea (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 38-81). According to the tentative definition of a plantation used in this study (Appendix A), the two largest gardens would qualify as plantations--and are the only listed Badaga holdings with such large dimensions. Tea leaf from many listed and a much larger number of smaller unlisted holdings is processed in nearby company factories, or in small factories owned by Badagas or Lingayats.

245 (175) [433] [439] (311)

Acacia and eucalyptus trees were first grown on the Nilgiris before 1836 (Table III). Badagas have since planted many acacias and eucalypti on land in and between their communities. From these trees are obtained acacia bark for tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood.

244 ridges constructed in the same plots are planted with broad beans (Vicia faba L.) or peas. Kitchen gardens are typically better manured and cared for. Because they are nearer to community cattle-pens and (510) livestock huts, more manure is likely to be placed on them. Due to the absence of toilets in houses, community dwellers naturally defecate (364) more frequently on nearby plots. And lastly, women recurrently spread kitchen ashes or trash over kitchen gardens. When family members have 241 time to spare, they may easily care for kitchen garden plots near the 592 communities in which they live. Women work on them between their 462 household duties, and men who are regularly employed work on them during off duty hours.

• 175 Shifting agriculture. In 1800 the Badagas were practicing shift-
241 ing slash-burn (kottukadu) agriculture (Buchanan 1870, 1: 462). As
361 later writers described Badaga hamlets and villages in terms of permanence, it is conjectured that Badagas then dwelt in permanent communities and cultivated different plots on the nearby countryside from year to year. From the time Englishmen started to administer the Nilgiris
241 until the late 1800s, the kburty revenue system existed over the upper
651 Nilgiris. Under this system a farmer could hold up to ten times the taxed land he actually cultivated in any single year. Therefore, a man who paid taxes on five acres could hold nine other five-acre plots scattered over the upper Nilgiris. Plot alternation accompanied by the necessary clearance of vegetation off fallowed land not cultivated for years, or off newly claimed forest land, formed a system of shifting agriculture. Another system was followed in the western Kundahs, which

311 (178) (241) purchase cultivable land near Badaga communities have lowered the possibilities of land away from a community remaining uncultivated from year to year.

• 175 221 241 The agricultural cycle. Harkness (1832: 136-137) gave details concerning two yearly agricultural seasons, each of which coincided with westerly or easterly monsoons. Italian, koda (Paspalum scrobiculatum L.), little, and finger millet, amaranth, barley, wheat, garlic, onions, and mustard were sown in May, then harvested from August into September. After this main season ground was sometimes left fallow until the following May, but some Badagas prepared soil almost immediately for chick peas (Cicer arietinum L.), fenugreek, lentil (Ervum lens L.), and poppies, which were all said to be harvested in December and January. Harkness, however, understated the maturation time for poppies--a period closer to nine months. Poppy seeds were probably planted in May, for cooler weather during dry months was the best time to extract poppy juice. In March and April seeds of gourds, pumpkins, and lablab beans were planted. From the first two species and their progeny produce was gathered for years. Lablab beans mature in five to seven months, depending upon the variety grown. Another millet identified as koralie (another variety of Italian millet?) and sown in March-April supposedly took nine months to mature, but it is doubtful that this grain grew so long before maturing.

221 241 The two agricultural seasons of the year have persisted. Sowing and planting during the main season (karbokan) take place from March into April, and harvesting extends from July into September. In the

243 placed in small heaps, and burned when dry. Plows used in soil prep-
[407] aration were of a general type presently used in southern India. Some
[175] doubtlessly had a metal strip attached to the share, but Ouchterlony
(1848: 31) stated that the share was "almost invariably a piece of
pointed wood, of a tough description, hardened in the fire, and not
shod with iron, or any other metal." Plowing was performed by two
[492] methods. In the first, a lead team of yoked cattle drawing a plow was
followed by five or six similar teams drawing plows. After plows
scraped a single furrow, parallelled furrows were formed by forcing the
[492] cattle to pull plows in lines paralleling the first. When the other
method was used, a single team of yoked cattle pulled a plow over a
field as many as five times. During each replowing, furrows were
[462] crossed. After the men had finished the plowing, women and children
[857] with small hoes worked over the soil, broke up clods, removed weeds,
and piled them in small heaps. After the weeds were burned, the ashes
were scattered over the ground. Cattle manure from cattle pens was
mixed with community trash, loaded into baskets, and carried to fields.
After being broadcast, the fertilizer was worked into the soil through
another plowing or with hoes. Men broadcast seeds, or planted seeds,
plants, and seed potatoes (later 1800s) in rows. Sown seeds were
covered by a last plowing or light hoeing. Women and children usually
weeded the fields two or more times. To speed this process up, rows
[572] of weeders sometimes worked cooperatively. Harvesting was performed
[412] by all family members, and sickles were the main harvesting implements.
Bundles of straw with grain or baskets loaded with grain heads were
carried as head loads to threshing floors. Temporary threshing floors

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens,
• (175) buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so
234 goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hegotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bérgani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

174 224 from Kotti took the shredded remnant of a hunting net and two spears to a point upon the mountainside behind Kotti. While two men held up the net remnant, two with spears charged at it. Then all sat in circle and sang folk songs before returning the equipment to the Hirodaya temple. Using these examples, it seems likely that the Badagas once hunted with nets and spears. Now they use muzzle-loaders, shotguns, and rifles. Although a few go hunting, most guns are employed in the protection of crops from such animals as black-naped hares (Lepus nigricollis F. Cuv.), pigs, and porcupines. 411 (224) (241)

Other occupations. From the time Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiris, outside employment became available. Both poor and wealthier Badagas took advantage of ever-increasing job opportunities. By 1829 many poorer Badagas were performing all types of labor (Hough 1829: 96). In 1860 a few were working on coffee plantations, but by 1868 many males were working as artisans or laborers on European-owned plantations (Harkness 1862: 376; Shortt 1868: 38). There were Badaga clerks, cordite factory workers, building and road contractors, forest guards, gardeners, and school teachers by 1909, and before 1934 wage earning became the main means of livelihood for many Badagas (Thurston 1909, 1: 63; Ranga 1934: 11). Badagas are presently employed in the Government of India Cordite Factory, the Needle Industries (India) Ltd., and the Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Company in the Nilgiris. Some Badagas have a high school education, and a few are university graduates. As a result, there are Badaga clerks and professionals employed in private industries, or in positions with the 175 177 464 463 (871)

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

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[184]
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[132]
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[177]
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[171]
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The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malabarian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employment of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva AN63

APPENDIX B

THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF PLANTS

137 Australian trees. For purposes of afforestation, beautification, and profits obtained through firewood sales, acacia and eucalyptus species were first introduced into the Nilgiris, and thereby India, during the mid-1800s. Acacias were later planted in large numbers for their bark tannin, and eucalypti became a source of eucalyptus oil extracted from leaves. Acacia dealbata F.V.M. and A. melanoxylon R. Br. were possibly brought by Dun in the early 1830s. King is also said to have introduced these two species around 1833 (Price 1908: 122). By 1860 both Acacia mollissima Willd. and A. decurrens Willd. were growing on the Nilgiris (Nair 1953: 34). Near Billakoombai, in 1857, the first stand of an imported Australian species, A. melanoxylon, was planted by the Madras State Government on four acres of grassland. Through continuous planting this stand was enlarged, so that by late 1859 there were some 200,000 trees consisting mainly of A. melanoxylon and another acacia species (not identified), but small numbers of Indian Cedrus deodara Loud. and Pinus longifolia Roxb. were also grown (Cleghorn 1861: 172, 174, 185). Attempts to grow the two latter species have since been completely abandoned. A. mollissima was eventually found to be the most suitable acacia for the Nilgiris and is the one most frequently planted now. In 1834 Cotton grew the first blue gums (Eucalyptus globulus Labill.) on the Nilgiris, and in 1856 General Morgan established the first stand of them. After 1857, when sale of blue gums was started at the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens, they became the common, widely distributed eucalyptus species (Hutchins 1883: 1).

175 177 Subtropical and tropical plants. It is impossible to tell when most foreign subtropical and tropical plants were introduced. Grain amaranth, papaya, and tapioca are three plants which may have spread rapidly after their introduction by Europeans coming to Malabar. As amaranths (also grown in temperate areas) are cultivated in the Himalayas, their use possibly spread northward from the Nilgiris via the Eastern Ghats (Nakao and Sauer 1952-53, 2: 141-146). The bananas, jacks, limes, and mandarin oranges grown by natives in the early 1800s may have been associated with Nilgiri agriculture for a long period (Buchanan 1870, 1: 402; Harkness 1832: 90). Baikie (1834: 36) saw citrons and loquats growing at Dimbhatti and Billical. Spread in the use of some plants initially grown at Burliar and Kalhatti experimental gardens doubtlessly occurred. When Cleghorn visited Thomas' Burlair garden in 1857, he saw allspice (Pimenta officinalis L.), cinnamon (Cinnamomum zeylanicum Bl.), cloves (Eugenia carrophylata Thumb.), cacao (Theobroma cacao L.), jack, lime, loquat, mangosteen (Garcinia mangostana L.), nutmeg (Myristica fragrans Houtt.), orange (probably

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW53
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

177 Citrus reticulata Blanco obtained from natives), passion fruit, peach, pineapple, pummelo, rose apple (Eugenia jambos L.), and vanilla (Vanilla planifolia Andr.) plants (Cleghorn 1857: 303). Markham introduced cherimoyas into India in 1860, when he visited the Kalhatti governmental branch garden (since abandoned). Several plants growing there were also grown at Burliar, but no others are mentioned (Markham 1862: 372). Cherimoyas are now frequently grown in Irula and Kurumba gardens.

The three main plantation plants. The three most important plantation plants of the Nilgiris are cinchona, coffee, and tea (mainly Cinchona officinalis Hk., C. ledgeriana Moens, C. calisaya Wedd., C. succirubra Pavon and hybrids; Coffea arabica L. and C. canephora Pierre; Camellia sinensis O. Ktze var. sinensis and var. assamica). By 1895 they covered more than 50 percent of the cultivated land in the Nilgiri District, and acreages devoted to the latter two crops have constantly increased since then (Benson 1895: 430).

The cultivation of cinchona was started in 1860, when Sir Clements Markham brought plants and seeds from Peru to the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund, and thus gave the Nilgiris the distinction of being the original home of cinchona in India (Markham 1862: 372). The stock brought by Markham was supplemented mostly by plants and seeds from his assistants in Peru, seeds from the botanist Pritchett, and exchange of cinchona plants with the Dutch Government in Java. During 1862-63 government cinchona stands were established on three areas and a fourth stand was started in 1868 (Francis 1908: 183-184; Bunny 1953: 21). By 1884 these had become four government plantations with over one million trees covering 2,610 acres of land (Hunter 1886, 10: 316). Private entrepreneurs undertook the cultivation of cinchona, especially in the Wynaad, but a disastrous drop in prices during the 1880s ended a brief boom period (Fletcher 1911: 42). Thus, 10,373 acres of cinchona listed in the 1895 Nilgiri census were either an exaggeration or chiefly in abandoned plantations (Benson 1895: 430). Afterwards, cinchona cultivation and processing remained essentially in the hands of the Madras State Government. By 1960 cinchona trees covered 2,123 acres, a lesser amount than in 1884 (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390).

According to folklore, coffee was first brought from Mecca to India in 1600 by a Moslem pilgrim called Baba-uddin. The Bababudin Hills in Mysore, named after him, were a center of coffee cultivation when the English overcame Tipu Sultan in 1799. During that year the East India Company started an experimental coffee garden at Anjarakandy, near Tellicherry. Plants taken from there were planted by Bevan at Manantody, Malabar Wynaad, in 1825 (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: xxxi-xxxii). Coffee growing may then have spread eastward into the Nilgiri Wynaad. During 1838 Dawson started the first Nilgiri coffee plantation near Coonoor, and two other plantations were opened during 1840 in the Kotagiri area (Athrey 1953: 11). In 1860 Markham noted that there were 100 acres of coffee on Dawson's plantation, but the nearby 200-acre plantation with 250,000 coffee

M bushes belonging to Stanes was the largest in the area. The Wynaad was a leading coffee region by 1860, with 7,358 acres under coffee owned by Europeans and 4,028 acres owned by native cultivators (Markham 1862: 373, 376). In 1960 there were 17,158 acres of coffee on the Nilgiris, 8,187 acres in the Nilgiri Wynaad, and 15,119 acres in the Malabar Wynaad (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 351, 390).

175 177 A step toward tea planting on the Nilgiris was taken in 1832, when Surgeon Christie ordered some tea plants from China. Christie died in the same year, but the plants which arrived were distributed for planting. During 1834 Lord Bentinck, Viceroy of India, sent a commission to China for some tea. A few plants grown from seeds brought back from China were planted in 1835 at Katti and elsewhere (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: xxxiii). Fortune, during 1854, brought some tea seeds off recently imported bushes from China and gave the seeds to Henry Mann. The planted seeds formed the nucleus of the first tea plantation near Coonoor, and in 1858 Cleghorn noted the presence of about 2,000 vigorous tea plants on the plantation (Cleghorn 1861: 18). By 1883 there were 78 Nilgiri tea plantations and a total of 3,322 acres of bearing tea (Hunter 1886, 10: 315). In 1960 tea covered 32,781 acres on the Nilgiris and 14,660 acres in the Nilgiri Wynaad (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390). Assam (var. assamica) rather than China (var. sinensis) tea has, during this century, become the dominant type in southern India and the Nilgiris. The importance of this variety was not realized in Bentinck's time.

M

175 177 Temperate crops and trees. John Sullivan started construction of the first Englishman's house on the Nilgiris in 1819. Shortly thereafter he must have initiated the growth of temperate vegetables and fruits at Dimbhatti, near Kotagiri, for John Jones in 1821 wrote that "European vegetables attain to a high degree of perfection retaining all the original flavour and yielding abundance of the first seed. . . . Of European fruits, strawberries, peaches, and apples have been tried" (Price 1908: 124). Sullivan's gardener grew some large potatoes in 1824, and during 1826 Hough saw beets, cabbages, radishes, and turnips grown by the same man (Price 1908: 126). Baikie (1834: 35-36), Jervis (1834: 46), and Mignon (1834: 83) noted these plants: artichoke, asparagus, beet, cabbage, carrot, cauliflower, celery, kidney bean (Phaseolus vulgaris L.), kale, leek, lettuce, parsnip, pea, potato, pumpkin, radish, savoy (type of cabbage), spinach, tomato, and turnip. Baikie recorded that great quantities of high quality potatoes were being grown, while tomatoes were rare. He also saw apple, nectarine, peach, plum trees, and blackberry, raspberry, and strawberry plants. Ford (1851: 39) stated that the Nilgiris had become famous for their potatoes, which, along with beets, cabbages, cauliflowers, celery, and peas, were easily obtainable in the market. In 1843 Cotton brought Chinese pears to the Nilgiris upon his return from China, and this fruit is now the most frequently grown temperate fruit on the Nilgiris (Price 1908: 125). Englishmen also introduced grains

• N5
M7

and maize. In 1832 barley, oats, and wheat were sown at Ketti (Francis 1908: 203). Sullivan had grown barley, oats, vetches, and wheat, but Indians did not take to the cultivation of oats and vetches (Metz 1864: 152). Robertson (1875: 15, 18, 20) reported that Badagas were growing six-rowed barley, naked European wheat said to have been introduced by Sullivan, and Scotch two-rowed barley brought by Honeywell of the Arven Brewery (founded in 1857). Maize recently brought to the upper Nilgiris was being raised in their kitchen gardens. However, Kurumbas grew maize previously (Shortt 1868: 49). As to whether or not Europeans introduced broad beans (Vicia faba L.) and buckwheat (Fagopyrum sagittatum Gilib.) is debatable. Frequent use of broad beans in Badaga ritual indicates their early presence on the Nilgiris. Buckwheat was flourishing in 1875, and there is no reason why it should not have spread from inner Asia to the Nilgiris long before Englishmen arrived.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

PAUL HOCKINGS

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Badaga Kinship Rules in Their Socio-Economic Context

Abstract. – *The Badagas, a large refugee millet-farming community on the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, have a Dravidian kinship system. Their larger social units include several levels of lineage, clans, and phratries. While much discussion of Dravidian kinship focusses on rules, this paper concentrates on actual practices, looking especially at situations for which there are no established rules. Many of the rules that do exist are shown to be preferences rather than prescriptions, particularly those relating to the choice of a marriage partner: although the system is rigidly patrilineal, residence after marriage is not always patrilocal. The joint family is still widespread. Among the unusual features of Badaga society, generation levels are only identifiable among males. This, combined with the frequency of remarriage and the existence of polygyny, means that affines may be able to trace the kin relationship between them through several different "routes." Only the sons inherit property, but while they all get an equal share of the land, it is only the youngest who inherits the parental home. Uncle/niece marriage and other more anomalous possibilities are examined. The paper illustrates the workings of a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and explores the nature of marriage reciprocity between villages.* [India, Kinship, Marriage, Inheritance]

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The Badagas are a refugee millet-farming community who live on the Nilgiri Massif of Southern India. They are not however the victims of any recent political repression, for their ancestors moved up into that mountain environment during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the Muslim invasions of Mysore which brought the Vijayanagar Empire to an end. Those

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8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Irula tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kudumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tumeri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

B: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[2] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aliya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

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[2] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AN50 Badaga AN50

dynasty of Madura. To these Nâyakkas or Vaḍugas the Baḍagas were allied, and they were thus originally the Śûdras of the Maisûr country. They were, however, completely Âryanised before they commenced their march three centuries ago to the district where they now live, and it is therefore not surprising that they should have brought with them many of the ancient Âryan institutions.

Chief among these may be noted the system of local self-government that even yet exists among them though in an impaired form. From the traces that are still left it is evident that the village community system prevailed among them in a complete state in the old days of their settlement on the Nîlagiris.

Each village has a head man called the Monegar. He is generally the richest man in the village, and is regarded as the highest authority upon all subjects. Before the year 1820, while the Nîlagiri district had not yet been made a separate district but only formed a single tâlûk in the Coimbatore district, the power of these Monegars was much greater than it is now. At that time communication was difficult and much of the Nîlagiris had not yet been opened up, and in the different villages the Monegar was the paramount power. Stories are current even to the present day of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone. Unless the disobedience was of a most flagrant nature and really amounted to a determined disregard of constituted authority, such a high-handed exercise of autocratic power must have been resented by the people, for the Monegar was not an irresponsible autocrat, but a ruler holding his power by the goodwill of the whole community. The British Government has made these Monegars officials in connection with the revenue administration of the villages, but apart from this they still have certain important duties to perform in connection with the social life of the Baḍaga community. In all religious and social questions the Baḍagas go to the village Monegar. If the question is a simple one he settles it himself, if it is intricate he calls a village council to which the elders of the village are summoned. After taking their opinion he passes an order which must be obeyed, for his word is law.

Questions of partition, of cultivation and of outcasting, disputes and other minor matters, are thus settled by the village council with the Monegar as its head. It is, however, in questions arising in connexion with marriage that the Monegar and his council play their most important part. When a girl in one village is going to